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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

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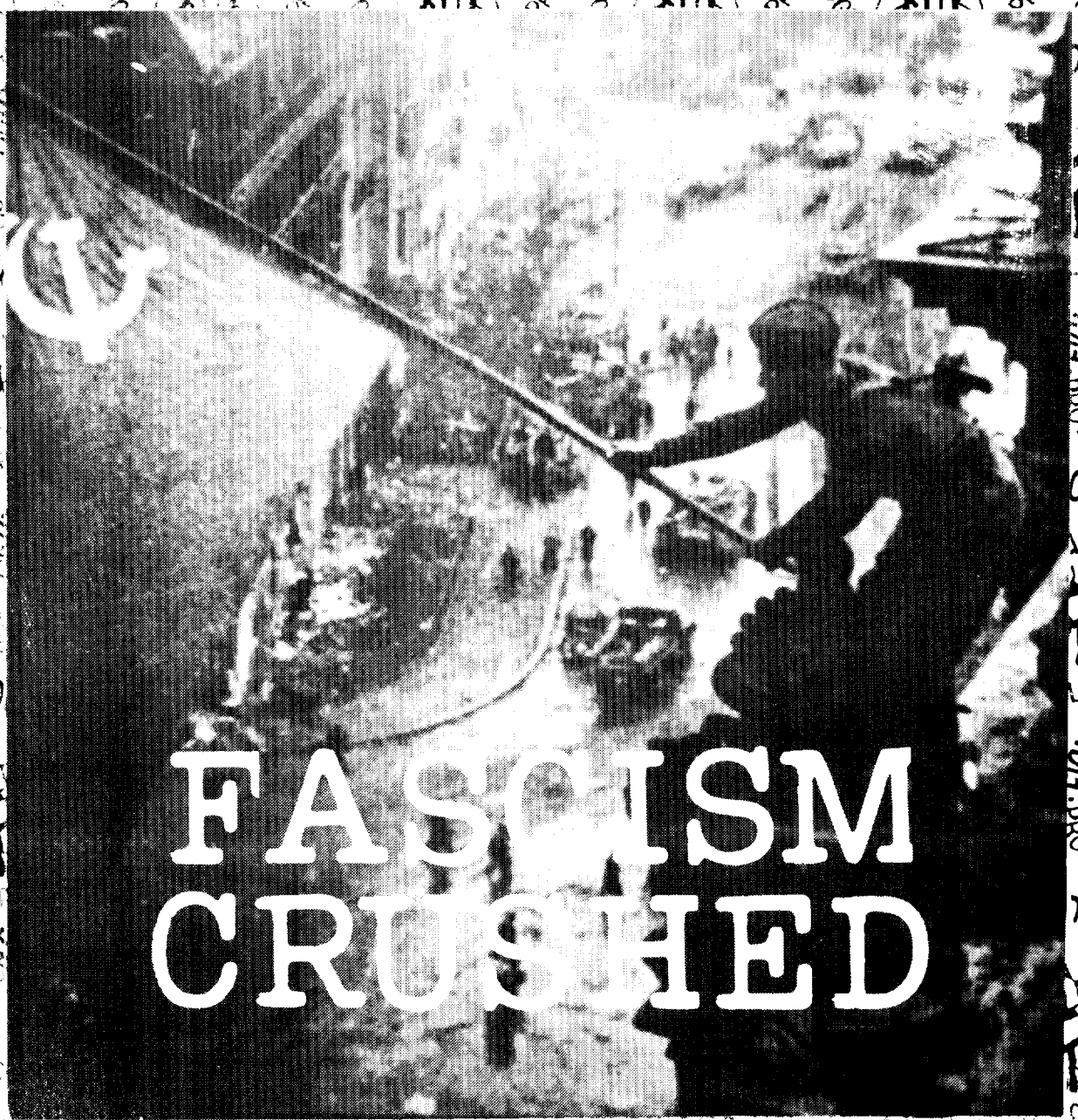

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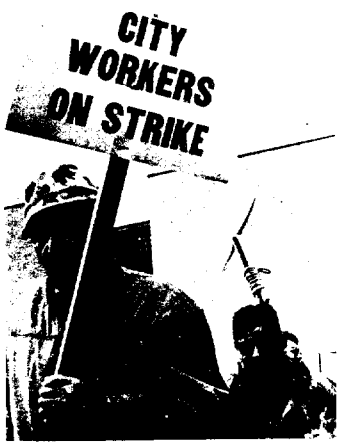

Cover: Berlin, 1945. Red flag over the Reichstag.

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Luchemos por el Socialismo
Muerte al Racismo

(ONE OF T[illegible] PROGRESSIVE LABOR MAY DAY POSTERS)

& comments & notes & comments & notes &

To the Editor:

PL is the best magazine of political analysis and commentary around. Why, then, doesn't the Party take care to guarantee it wider distribution?

In Manhattan, for example, there are many colleges and universities (CCNY, Columbia, NYU, to name a few) surrounded by bookstores and newsstands that carry political literature of all stripes. Five or six years ago it was always possible to find **PL Magazine** on many of these stands and stores. I understand that 50 or more issues of **PL** were regularly sold in the Columbia Univ. area alone. In addition, there are several other areas in Manhattan alone where newsstands carry large numbers of magazines, including political magazines.

Likewise it is doubtless true that, not only in the other boroughs but (more importantly) throughout the country, there are bookstores, etc. which would agree to carry a few copies of the magazine. It is mainly, I think, due to our lack of carefully planning and struggling for the distribution of the magazine that its influence is not fully realized.

Failure to struggle for the maximum distribution and circulation of the Party's major theoretical and analytical organ (among students and other intellectuals, at any rate) is only anti-communism, and isn't compatible with PL's line about building an intellectual (especially a student-worker) alliance.

No doubt there will be problems in gaining acceptance of the magazine at some stores and newsstands. But this should not deter us.

As a beginning, let me propose the following measures:

1. Every city leadership should locate the areas (no doubt many of them around colleges) where bookstores and newsstands exist which might agree to carry, even free of charge (to the store), copies of **PL Magazine.** Someone should be assigned to deliver the copies to each store after each issue is printed.

2. Students and teachers in every college and university should request the college library to subscribe to **PL Magazine.** This could be done collectively: the more who request it, the better. This would make it available but, more importantly, would provide a steady income for the magazine. A library subscription rate higher than the individual rate (say, $5 a year) might be established. This is standard practice for 'scholarly' publications in other fields.

3. All Party members and friends should request their local town or municipal libraries to subscribe to **PL**. Again, some would no doubt do so.

4. All faculty members, students, and workers—in fact, everyone—who has a subscription to **Challenge-Desafio** should be specifically talked to about buying a subscription to **PL Magazine** as well. A descriptive and attractively-printed flyer could be mailed out with a future issue of **C-D.**

5. Advertisements could be taken out in some of the "radical" journals, where possible (e.g. the URPE Journal; the MARHO newsletters), and especially where PL members are active. These would be inexpensive, and would help. Many members of these organizations are honest anti-capitalist forces, who might be won to supporting the Party, or at least neutralized. It would help party members' work in these groups, at any rate.

6. 500-1000 or so posters could be printed up with each issue of **PL Magazine.** These might be the cover of the latest **PL,** overprinted with a table of contents ("IN THIS ISSUE:..."), and a blank space for **PL'ers** to print where or from whom the latest issue is available ("Available at X's Bookstore"; "Available from Cathy Y..." or "On Sale Here," for stores and newsstands). This wouldn't be prohibitively expensive, as the cover must be set up for printing anyway.

I'm sure many other and better suggestions will be forthcoming from comrades and friends of the Party **if** the main thing is guaranteed—a political struggle with the leadership in each area, and especially with the 'intellectual' Party members, students, faculty and others to get this done. In addition, increasing the prominence and circulation of **PL Magazine** would definately help the circulation of **C-D** as well! the best damn newspaper.

Enclosed find a contribution to help guarantee the best damn magazine in the country.

Yours in struggle
C.G.

PHOTOS NEEDED!

We are in urgent need of photos, cartoons, and other illustrations, especially for historical articles. If you have illustrations that you don't need, please send them to Progressive Labor Magazine editor, **G.P.O. Box 808 BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11201**

And if you write anything for the magazine, it would be very helpful if you included pictures for the article. Thank you.

On 'Jewish Capitalists'

To the Editor:

Re the section on Hungarian fascism, "Jewish capitalists" are distinguished from "Hungarian capitalists." I have never known it to so distinguish capitalists along religious lines. While opportunism has never been limited to Jewish capitalists. The incident referred to, the Jewish "rescue committee" sell-out, is horrific but I believe

a lesson No. 8 or some commentary on this incident—such as that capitalist unity will always supersede national, ethnic or religious unity—is in order. Otherwise it seems a peculiar distinction to make, as such a distinction between capitalists is rarely, if ever, made in **PL**.

Another comment: it isn't an area I know much about but the article consistently refers to a small, backward minority of workers (in Germany) being attracted to Nazism. Is this really accurate? I believe even a considerable section of the red front joined the "left" fascist wing, the S.S. and, while perhaps not Nazi party members, nazism (I think) had a fairly broad-based mass appeal. On p. 18 it says that the "nazis polled nearly 605 million votes" (obviously a typo)* in the 1930 elections. If a significant portion of the German working class was sympathetic (or even "neutral") vis-a-vis nazism (for whatever reasons) I believe our purposes to be better served by a square examination of the facts rather than by glossing over the matter by minimizing the situation. As I said, perhaps I don't have my facts right but I thought someone up there might respond.

*Editor's note: We regret the unfortunate typos in the first article on Fighting Fascism. The Nazis polled nearly 6.5 million votes in 1930. Among other mistakes, the magazine also stated that in "1933 there were 205 million Nazis" in Germany. This should have read "2.5 million."

Editor's Reply

1. In eastern Europe before World War II the Jews constituted more than a religion, but a national grouping, an ethnic minority—a "nation coming to an end" (Stalin)* (Marx expressed similar views). A close analogy is black people in the U.S. today, although Hungarian Jews were far less integrated into Hungary than U.S. blacks are into U.S. life. If we can speak of black capitalists and politicians who sell out the black working class, then it is fair in the context of pre-war Hungary to speak of Jewish capitalists selling out Jewish workers.

2. The number is 6.5 million votes not 605. There is no question that some German workers were Nazis, but all evidence shows the overwhelming majority of German workers opposed Nazism at least passively:

A. The BBC series "World at War," referring to 1940 when the Nazis were at their height of their popularity inside Germany, says at that time "The workers now were **subdued** though not enthusiastic" (as opposed to previously when they opposed Nazism).

B. The Nazis own membership statistics, quoted extensively in the article, show workers to be only a small portion of their membership, despite their name as a "workers' party."

C. Election statistics show that the working class districts were solidly Communist or social democratic with very few Nazi votes. This is even true in the elections of March, 1933 **after** the Nazis were placed in power.

D. Nazi street demonstrations were singularly unsuccessful in penetrating working class districts, especially in industrial cities like Hamburg and in the Rhur until **after** the Communists were arrested in Spain, 1933.

* *Marxism and the National Question, J.V Stalin.*

To the Editor:

I read with much interest but some scepticism **Road to Revolution III** and subsequent discussions of the situation in China. However, your analysis seems to have been borne out by the events of the past few years (such as the restoration of Teng Hsiao-ping and the explicit re-affirmation of "bourgeois rights" in the 1975 Constitution).

The mentality of the present Chinese regime was vividly brought out in a lecture I recently attended. The speaker was Jack Chen, who was for many years an editor of **Peking Review** and is now a research associate at Cornell University. Chen lectures widely in this country. Evidently, his main function is to serve as a propagandist for the PRC. In answer to a question about wage differences in China today, Chen admitted that a high-level cadre holding a position such as the one he formerly held on the **Peking Review** would receive a salary of 150 yuan per month. An ordinary worker, on the other hand, might receive as little as 30-35 yuan per month. Chen had no convincing explanation of why such a gap should exist between the workers and their "vanguard." When pressed on this point, he made a surprising revelation. During the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards had compelled him to accept a 35-yuan monthly wage. But later the government raised him back to his original wage—and gave him back pay to cover his losses during the Cultural Revolution. I was astonished that Chen would admit to such a complete reversal of the ideals of the Cultural Revolution.

Chen is pushing the line (already widely accepted even among those hostile to China) that the essential policies of the Cultural Revolution remain intact and that what happened in its aftermath was merely the suppression of a few crackpots and their ideas. But he never managed to offer any serious explanation of why paying cadres the same as workers is a crackpot idea.

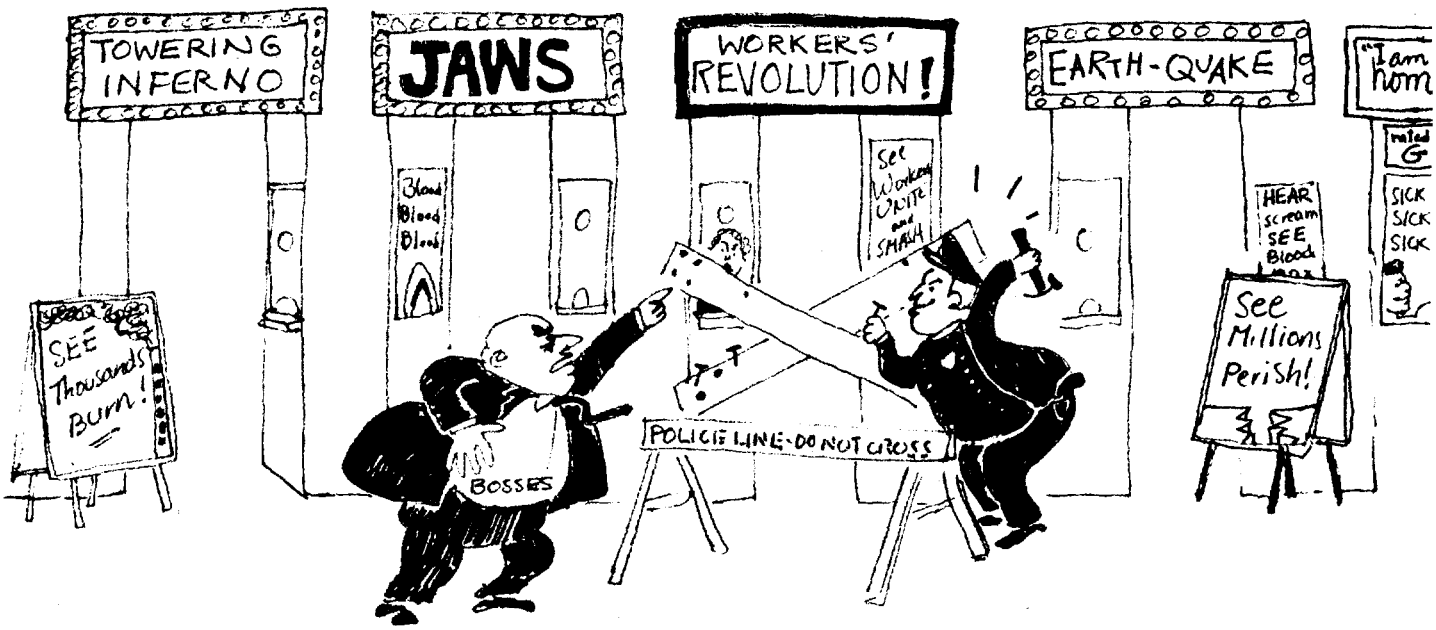
Sincerely,
David G.

'Snuff'

To the Editor:

Why are movies like **Snuff** being shown in the United States?

The movie **Snuff** is one example, the latest and most sensational, of the vicious and de-



"BAN THAT MOVIE! IT'S MUCH TOO VIOLENT!"

humanizing filth that the media, protected by the courts and the cops, are flooding the country with.

This inhuman movie, which features the butchery of a young woman, is advertised as one that could only be made in South America—"where life is cheap." Life in South America may be cheap to the murdering fascist dictators in South America that are supported by our government for the sake of U.S. corporate profits, but life is not cheap to the South American workers who fight every day to keep themselves and their families from starving to death. We U.S. workers should not allow ourselves to be suckered into racist feelings toward our working class brothers and sisters in South America.

The police, the public attorneys, the courts and the politicians make a big show of being concerned about the showing of a movie like **Snuff**—but such movies are always permitted to be shown. The government says "its hands are tied" and poses as a defender of "free speech." Workers know that when they go on strike against a boss's violation of contract or of safety regulations the government won't enforce, the police and legal system suddenly find their hands are no longer tied, they are no longer so "liberal" and so sensitive to people's "rights," because the "people" in this situation are not bosses but workers: police violence against workers to protect the sacred profits of bosses (including theater owners and movie makers), injunctions, imprisonment and fines are the order of the day. So government protestations of being unable to act are as phony as a presidential campaign speech.

Why is racist and sexist violence and pornography being pushed through all the media —movies, TV, magazines, and books? Why does the government support creeps and gangsters who profit from this slimy traffic in human degradation? **Because it is in the interest of the government to do so.**

Why is it in the interest of the government to give free rein to these criminal degenerates—the makers and buyers and sellers of these movies?

Let's be clear what the government is, who runs it and what the main purposes of the government are. The government is the police, the courts, the armed forces, the legislative and executive branches. The key positions of the government are staffed by members or trusted agents (like Kissinger) of the capitalist class, especially its richest and most powerful section, and the policies of the government in labor, finance, industrial development, education and foreign affairs are laid down by the leadership of this section of the capitalist class organized in various interlocking government and private councils and committees (Council on Foreign Relations, Committee on Economic Development, Advertising Council and so on). The president acts fundamentally as their front man and the one who takes the blame when there's trouble.

The government serves primarily the interest of this class and uses its resources for three main purposes: (1) to enable the rich to squeeze more profits out of the hides of workers, (2) to prevent workers from organizing effectively to prevent this (using a combination of bribery, lying, secrecy and force), and (3) to convert the children of working class families into cannon fodder to fight "patriotic" wars to enlarge and protect the overseas investments of the rich (the so-called "national interest"). The government, in short, is run by the capitalists for the capitalists and is primarily a weapon against the working class.

As the big superprofits sucked out of countries in Latin America,

Asia and Africa by U.S. corporations get smaller and smaller, as more of these superprofits begin to fall into the hands of other major capitalist powers—the Common Market countries, Japan, Russia—U.S. bosses have to put a tighter squeeze on workers here at home to prop up their sagging profits; the bosses start worrying about our "productivity" (they are pushing the line now that some of us are "lazy" and "chiselers") and seek to make us work twice as hard and do the work of one or more others so they can keep down wage costs and keep some unemployed around to scare us into going along with speed-up and with 5 percent wage hikes outrun by 10 percent inflation; and they cut back on social services in health, education and welfare —all so they can maintain their ability to compete for profits with the up-and-coming capitalist powers abroad.

As the world-wide competition between gigantic capitalist monopolies intensifies and as the resistance of workers to being squeezed increases, the bosses prepare for fascism. Under fascism—union-busting, militant racist patriotism, the spread of mystical cults and ideas, police violence, repressive laws (like the new S.1), more secrecy in government, are the order of the day. The U.S. ruling class, which is not stupid, knows that the attitudes fostered or strengthened by movies like **Snuff** create a climate of feeling and thinking which isolates and weakens the resistance of the working class to fascist and imperialist policies. The bosses hope that this climate of inhumanity, of cynicism, despair and indifference, will induce at least some part of the working class to look the other way as fascist acts are carried out against more and more and more workers in the United States itself, especially against minority and immigrant workers. Finally, as the competition between the major imperialist powers intensifies, fascism prepares for war.

So this is why the bosses and their government are preparing the moral and social climate of fascism and why they permit the showing of movies like **Snuff**.

This analysis is by no means farfetched. The moral climate systematically nurtured and safeguarded in this country by the ruling class, by the media which it controls and by the various agencies of its government, parallels the moral climate that developed in Germany in the years just before and during the rise of Nazi fascism. Fascism in this country will no doubt wear a chic suit and a liberal label—and will no doubt brag about "freedom and democracy" and the divine wonders of the Constitution and "how good the country has been to us" and so forth —but it will be fascism nonetheless, with all that fascism means: racism, sexism, mysticism, cynicism, despair, cruelty and indifference; eroded social services, speed-up, layoffs, police worship, depressed standard of living, police terror and war.

As the key element in the campaign to prepare the way for fascism and to sustain it once it is in being, TV and newspapers give full-page and prime-time publicity to **racism** (as witness the **Star's** recent full-page "objective" reportage on racist gangs in Prince George's County or the TV's consistent blowing up of the importance of small anti-busing demonstrations and ignoring completely antiracist demonstrations ten times as large, or the favorable publicity given to the Klan organizations in **Time** magazine and other publications)—the kind of reportage that helps racist groups to increase in prestige and membership. When not ignored entirely, efforts under way in this country to defeat racism and to forge unity among workers of all races are given only summary back-page coverage.

There is only one way to reverse the movement toward fascism and war and that is for working men and women of all races to unite under its own political leadership to carry out **socialist revolution.**

The vicious creeps who show movies like **Snuff** and the even more vicious creeps who make movies like this, knowing there is a market for them among theater owners (in the name of "freedom of expression" or "giving the public what it wants") would not last one day under socialism. It is only under capitalism that creeps like these, along with their colleagues in oppression, murder and exploitation—the Kennedys, the Rockefellers, the Roosevelts, the Trumans, the Fords, the Wallaces, the Reagans, the Meanys, the Woodcocks and the Fitzsimmons, and their Mafia friends and sweethearts—can flourish and make profits. That is why, when it comes to their "freedom" to exploit workers and to sell garbage, these creeps are very "patriotic" and are strong advocates of "individual liberty." And there's always enough extra profit to give a nice "cut" to the politicians, judges and cops who make, administer and enforce the bosses' laws.

To sum up, this movie is part of a campaign to create the moral and psychological climate for fascism; the ruling class needs fascism if it is to break the fighting spirit and organization of the working class; it needs to break the fighting spirit and organization of the working class in order to squeeze more profits out of it in its sharpening competition with European, Russian and Japanese capitalists and to prepare for war.

Only workers can defeat fascism. In the last world war—supported by American, British, French and other workers, who prevented their governments from siding with Hitler and the fascist attempt to destroy the then-socialist Soviet Union—it was the great Red Army and the Soviet working class, led by Joseph Stalin, that broke the back of Hitler's **Wehrmacht.**

Only socialism, a society in which the working class owns the means of production and maintains its own government, can put an end to the breeding ground of fascism and war: capitalism.

One point should be made here about socialism, especially since the USSR is nowadays held up as an example of socialism. Once capitalism is overthrown, the danger of a return of capitalism

will remain until socialism advances to communism. And the USSR is indeed a case in point of how capitalist restoration can occur. Since the death of the great workingclass revolutionary, Joseph Stalin, the USSR is no longer a workers' state but has reverted back to being a full-fledged capitalist state, not because capitalism is inevitable or is a better system (it is neither), but because the Bolshevik leadership failed to see that new capitalist elements had come into being in Soviet Russia (the enterprise and combine directors and their hangers-on) and had wormed their way, through their political representatives, into the top levels of party and government; and the Bolshevik leadership failed to mobilize the working class against them in time. The turncoats Khruschev, Brezhnev, Kosygin & Company proceeded to "liberalize" the first workers' state by dismantling the machinery of central planning, by allowing freedom to enterprise directors to keep "their" profits and invest them as they see fit and to fire workers, by turning the Soviet state bank into a capitalist bank, by undermining socialism in agriculture, by giving freedom to such fascists and anticommunists as Solzhenitsin, by suppressing workers' democracy, by scrapping the policies and institutions that led to the great achievements of the Soviet working class and the Russian Communist Party under the leadership of Stalin—in short, by returning to capitalism.

Like any capitalist state, Russia now competes for profits abroad (imperialism) and its working class now suffers more and more from eroding social services and from inflation, unemployment and racism, the chief blessings of capitalism and of "freedom" for capitalists.

So that during the period of socialism the class struggle goes on, and the working class will have to maintain a continuous and sharp vigilance to prevent its power from being undermined and taken away from it by old or new capitalist forces.

But to return to the main point. It is not enough to defeat the push towards fascism and to win the fight for socialism by demonstrating and passing out leaflets, although this kind of work is important. Workers must organize on their jobs under the militant communist leadership of the Progressive Labor Party to fight racism, to strengthen their unions and to protect their jobs and their standard of living. They must also, and above all, join and help build the communist Progressive Labor Party toward the day when, under its leadership, the U.S. working class will overthrow capitalism in a socialist revolution and once and for all get rid of the war, fascism, racism, sexism, unemployment, and social and moral degradation that capitalism breeds.

Snuff out this movie and the criminals who make, sell and buy movies like this! Unite with our working class brothers and sisters in South America against fascism and imperialism! Death to racism! Death to fascism! Death to capitalism! Join the Progressive Labor Party! Fight for socialism! All power to the working class!

Friend of PL
Washington, D.C.

Abajo con 'Viva Zapata'

To the Editor:

It is a pleasure, as always to open a new issue of **PL.** Whether it is the situation abroad (Spain and Portugal) or at home (Thunder in the mines and Boston Summer and Fall of Fun City) the picture is clear, concise, inspiring.

I'd question however, the wisdom of panning "Viva Zapata" so harshly. It is true that if you have a reactionary movie mogul like Daryll Zanuck producing a picture you can't expect it to be politically pure and honest, even when dealing with noble theme. It is true that Elia Kazan caved in and crawled in front of the H.C. on Un-American Activities and supplicated and repented like a TV Ted Knight, denying his past, but so did Bob Oppenheimer and Haakon Chevalier and scores of other frightened men and women during the McCarran-McCarthy terror years. But Kazan did dare to direct and bring out "Gentleman's Agreement," "Pinky" and "On the Waterfront," and especially the latter one exposed the thugs' way of George Meany's and Jimmy Hoffa's gangster "unionists." John Steinbeck more than any other American writer, living or dead, has espoused the cause of the downtrodden and exploited. Suffice it to say: can anyone ever forget the hero of "In Dubious Battle" or the moving ending of "The Grapes of Wrath"? Both these novels much more than Marx's and Lenin's writings have influenced me in joining the fight against the rampant beast capitalism.

The point is, why should we attack one of the very few and

singular movies dealing with people's revolt against greedy overlords, even if there are some romantic shortcomings and ideological flaws, when on the whole the film had revolutionary fervor. There are so many other worthy subjects: Why Hollywood loves turning out the horror pictures? What is behind it? Why the private-eye-hired-gun-police-lieutenant is so prolific on TV? Why Science-Fiction is overflowing the media? When all these three genres are absolutely worthless from literary and artistic point of view, the three being like Coca Cola—a sickening "ersatz" concoction. There are specific titles, too, of otherwise good movies which could be well criticized for their escape from the problems of today's life, as for instance "The Sunshine Boys," "Shampoo," "Death Wish," "Rooster Cogburn" (and the raison d'etre of all John Wayne movies), etc.

Another important issue I'd like to raise here: isn't it time for all of us—revolutionary Marxists, to try and set aside differences and fight together. I was in Baltimore recently. The Labor Committee Caucus is all over the place, very active and very anti-Maoist. The Detroit New Left People are very active and very anti-Trotskyites. The Daily World people here in New York are quite befuddled, as usual, and very anti-Progressive Labor. If we are to succeed we must work together building cells in factories, in workshops, in universities, in schools, in army units, even in the police. Instead of them infiltrating our meetings and groups, let us awake them. The National Guardsmen that killed the Kent students were basically poor bastards who could have been indoctrinated in Communism instead of "patriotic" Hard-hat-Wallace-Hitlerism. It is up to us. We should all be ready soon to join the International Brigades in Portugal hoping that CP won't sell out like Marchais' French White Communists.

All revolutionaries of the Left unite!

For obvious reasons I won't sign my real name, but you will keep hearing from me until we meet eventually.

Comradely yours,
J. Spartacus

A Criticism of the Magazine Toward Revolutionary Art

Several months back, I was given what I believe to be the latest copy of **TRA,** and was asked to write a review of it, given that:

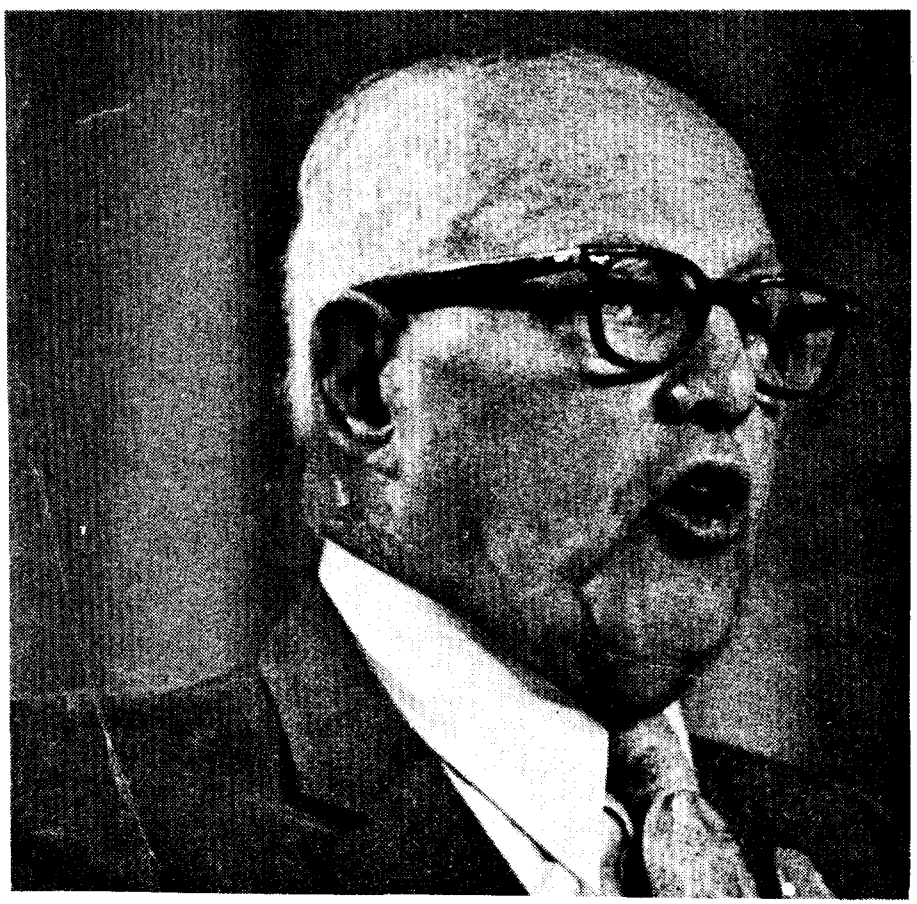
1. It was a product of a "united front" of anti-capitalist artists;
2. there is a contributing member of PL, and a couple other contributors in a PL study group. After a few starts and a few discussions (PLers and non-PLers), there is a chance that something could come of this. The subject goes pretty deep, aspects of culture, united front work, and especially the dictatorship of the proletariat seem to be the main areas in question. Also, the conference in Detroit (the one I attended) was a very important contributor towards many of these questions.

TRA is a cultural publication

OFFICIAL JUNIOR CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY AWARD

United States Steel asks a prominent Ameri

"What makes America work



(U. S. Steal's 2-Page Ad with U. S. Steel's Favorite Labor Leade

out of the west coast. I believe there are several copies a year. The format seems pretty interesting upon first glance. There are pictures, montages, poems, an interview with Lester Cole (one of the Hollywood 10, blacklisted and jailed during the McCarthy era)*, and a report on imperialism in the motion picture industry. It would have been nice to compare the old issues of **New Masses,** the C.P.U.S.A. cultural magazine. **TRA** seems like a collection of pretty "leftist" work. But since **TRA** is not a communist magazine, and since we believe that communism, with the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the only revolutionary course for humanity at this stage of the game, then we'd better look close at some of the differences and see what's what.

There are many different aspects and interpretations of capitalism in **TRA**. The poem about looking at yourself in a mirror to see yourself for what you really are seemed kind of spiritual. One photo montage shows a giant rubber tire with a huge claw coming out chasing two (only two) frantic people down a highway. The cover itself shows a picture in black and red of what probably is a revolutionary getting shot. There's also a poster print with the Spanish words "Attica es Fascismo" and a big, white skull at the bottom. Our comrade Brill wrote two poems for **TRA**. One is a satire on Tarzan and Jane, something about Tarzan's world caving in on him, perhaps symbolizing capitalism, and the other has something to say about "Operation Zebra," the racist super-harassment of black workers in San Francisco about two years back. A former comrade, Roger Taus, contributed two, short, easy to read poems (most poems have difficult to read styles), one on the comparisons on crimes and punishments of Nixon and George Jackson, and the other tells the story of a boss wiping his dirty hands on a black "tom" worker, because he's black anyway, and both worker and boss break out laughing.

Well, it seems that a lot of these articles have many weaknesses. Some of them were that the magazine leans toward a defeatist attitude (the front cover, the big tire, Attica). Also, some material seemed very intellectual (the article on motion pictures was practically impossible to read, with so many technical and "elephant" words). But the main weakness is the lack of clear class-consciousness, and the neglect to see that only a communist party, made up of workers and their allies (true allies), can lead workers to a socialist revolution. Most of these articles are anti-imperialist and pro "revolution," but not a one MAKES ANY REAL ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE FOR THAT PURPOSE. There is nothing that makes one want to go out and organize, there are none (with the exception of Pablo Neruda, where two poems of decent quality were reprinted) that absolutely sides with the working class, and there is not one that says that communist revolution is the only solution. Communist (revolutionary) ideas are completely covered over by short-sighted and subjective artistic creations. On the whole, **TRA** shows a narrow approach for revolutionary activity, and therefore the magazine is fundamentally wrong.

Workers need communist working class culture. Workers need to join PLP. Workers do not need pseudo left, avant garde, artistic (in the bourgeois sense) culture! The very last workshop of the Detroit conference was a quick one on culture. There were about twelve people who attended, more would have come (people from N.Y. area had to leave), but the workshop was lively and fruitful. United around one point: that culture is no pushover, rather it has to be developed and introduced into the mainstream of party work. I'm sure there are many comrades across the country who write poetry, draw pictures and cartoons, photograph, silkscreen—wouldn't you know it, I used to dance ballet. We can do all kinds of things, songs, posters, musicals, dramas, etc. It's time we start putting the party's line forward in all our work, and develop culture tuned to the needs of our class. Besides reaching out to the masses with our ideas and having some fun, think of the money we'd make to help carry the line for revolution forward.

The capitalists have built up a huge cultural propaganda machine (TV, music, everything for the bicentennial). They know how important it is to cover all the angles. New TV shows have all the popular themes. For fascists, there's cops, for "colored" there's Room 222, Sanford and Son, Chico and the Man and others. There are new women's "lib" shows, and we can't forget old Archie. All programs adjusted to the climate of the day, but always with the bourgeois tinge. We, being much more interested in the transition and building of a completely new society that is incomparably better, must also build up our own propaganda machine, covering all the angles, including a **hard line** political attack of all forms of bourgeois culture. The struggles of all important issues of the day are by **them,** interpreted into pacifying, humorous, numbing irregularities. We want to win millions to attack the reactionaries, and **with the struggles,** the cultural medium can be a tremendous loudspeaker and cultivator of our communist aims.

United Front or Unravelling Back

Should we continue working with **TRA?** One article was written by the "Women Weather Underground." Next issue, we might see (who knows, there could already be) someone representing the U.S. Labor Party or one of a thousand Trot groups. I don't think anyone wants to be seen with their enemies, and we should not press for further publicity with them. Many artists (not counting Hollywood) are in the center and left. Many have not developed to a higher degree (like most other workers) because of the lack of a clear alternative. We all know how easy it is to get messed up with the "bourgeois blues." But PL

*See notes and comments, last issue—Ed.

has always stood in a different light, under a different star. As more workers are taking to our ideas (as we spit them out more and better), we can start to develop on a much broader and sharper base. How good it would be to have a section of culture in every **PL** magazine. To view the beginnings (once again!! sorry C.P. you flunked out) of communist culture within the working class and our party, to criticise it, develop it, and make it grow. Then, all our friendly center and left artists would really begin to take notice, and many would want to contribute to communist culture.

Our comrade Brill contributed two poems to **TRA.** We saw neither of them in our magazine or our paper, and he's in our party! Wouldn't it be better to make PL magazine more complete with the many different forms of expression, than to all our artist buddies and fellow workers say "Hey, take a look at this, and tell me what you think." Rather than the united front work, this seems to be a better way to build the party and its ideas.

In **TRA,** there is a montage showing a family all asleep watching TV, with a smiling jar of coffee with boxing gloves on in front of them. The caption reads, "Sanka scores by a knockout." How different the reaction would be if instead we saw a big pile of layed out bosses with all the workers surrounding them, with the caption "Communism scores by a knockout."

A wise old comrade once remarked, "Where there's fault, there's the bosses. Where there's bosses, there's communists. And where there's communists, There's REVOLUTION!!!" One day, we will tap dance on their temples.

Comradely,
Edward C.
Gary, Ind.

(More poetry on pages 11, 28, 84)

Willie

Red hair
and ruddy face full
of unlighted cheroot said
"They fired me."

Willie spoke up
didnt take bosses sugar swill
or jelly all up when the boss
patted him on the back
he fought back
they fired him.

There were 38 quiet men in the lockerroom
Chuck said "Lets walk out
They arent gonna fire Willie
Or you Or me"

Bo the Steward spoke up then
If we walk out we'll loose our pay
We dont have the organization
we'll take a job action
do something on the clock on their time.

The air was tense
day after day
week after week the back breaking pace
loading freight
breathing jet fumes
hearing the ear-shattering roar of the jet

Big silver monsters making money
for the Big fat bosses
while they drive us on

We all left the lockerroom
and went to the bathroom
and the jets were waiting for our guidance
and the supervisors did not know where we were
and the airways carried a message
"Theres a walkout at Kennedy."

And there we were
washing our hands
using the bathroom
and in five minutes flat
we went back to work.

The big bosses called a meeting of the stewards
"Well boys whats the problem?"
Willie
we said
we all want him back

"Of course boys it must have been a mistake is that all?"
Well theres the fan in the baggage room
and the supervisors doing our work
and the low pay

"Easy boys we dont need a revolution do we?"

Bruce Burns

To the Editor:

The Progressive Labor Party in day-to-day organizing has supported and been directly involved in struggles led by working class women. On a regular basis Challenge reports working women fighting back against welfare cuts, dealing with both the union and company bosses in the garment industry, taking the lead in teachers' unions, and militantly responding to hospital administrators' death-inviting medical and health care cutbacks, to just name a few. Women in PL have consistently shown themselves to be the most dedicated and politically potent fighters against our common enemy.

Unlike several groups which are obsessed with language changes but do little to substantively improve women's lives, I believe that in its actual political practice, PL actively fights sexism. This real life anti-sexist stance, though, should be more politically up front.

The language usage of articles should also be reflective of this position. A few paragraphs in the overall well written article in the most recent PL magazine article, **Is Sweden Socialist?**, is one such article. On page 60 is a reference to Sweden's role as whore in WWII. Aside from the probability that pimp would be a more accurate description (since the Swedish government was exploiting the rank-and-file of that country while consorting with the Nazis), the repeated reference to the reactionary Swedish government as she/her was grating. As we all know, governments are without gender, yet, capitalist governments, if so assigned, would no doubt be more appropriately labelled eunuchs, their ultimate fate.

Dan L.
Somerville, Mass.

they can't understand

the hurricane winds
of history
appear to be separating us

fatigue robs me of her
and she of me.

our enemies know more
of our presence

than we of our own
to each other.

yet our love intensifies!

they can't understand!

those haughty embalmers
of decadent worlds,

why my true love and i
don't cringe

'neath the hail of their
endlessly vulgar tyrannies

never! never! no
not ever shall we!

'twas in winter's
frosty soil

we laid love's
sweet sensual seed.

potent, virile and
elastic now

its green shoots
belligerently defy
all seasons.

f. alcon

Lone Response to 'Communist Contest'

To the Editor:

A friend and I have thought of the following captions to accompany the picture of Breshnev and Kissinger slobbering all over each other. We plan to send in some more at which time I will also send some more money. Hopefully, I'm only in between jobs.

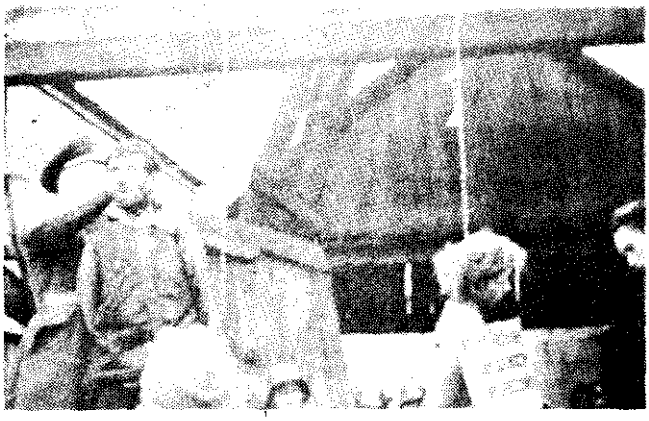
A possible caption for this picture if it were placed in the PL publication on Watergate: "If only Nixon knew he was working for the Yankees."

Another possibility: "Now that I have hotels on Boardwalk, Parkplace, Saigon, Pnom Penh, Luanda, this jetsetter starts talking about blowing up the board."

I would just like to add that I hope that this 'contest' sparks other political-cultural participation by readers of the paper. Many of us do not have the time to write stories for instance but many of us might after a little training with smaller projects.

How about a poem contest? Crossword puzzle contest? 100 words or less why we need socialism, a communist party, militant unions, etc. Drawing contest depicting class struggle, working people cooperating and helping each other.

A.D. - Boston



German soldiers hang Soviet partisans

Soviet partisan in action

Russian woman attacks German soldier

Dead children at Auschwitz

French fascist street fighters (Camelots du Roy)

Red army soldier stands by sign to Berlin

STOPPING FASCISM

ALLIES VS COMRADES

Only two paths are therefore open before present society.

One is to endeavour to strangle the powers of production, to arrest development, to destroy material and human forces, to fetter international exchange, to check science and invention, to crush the development of ideas and thought, and to concentrate on the organisation of limited, self-sufficient, non-progressive hierarchic societies in a state of mutual war—in short, to force back society to a more primitive state in order to maintain the existing class domination. This is the path of Fascism, the path to which the bourgeoisie in all modern countries where it rules is increasingly turning, the path of human decay.

The other alternative is to organise the new productive forces as social forces, as the common wealth of the entire existing society for the rapid and enormous raising of the material basis of society, the destruction of poverty, ignorance and disease and of class and national separations, the unlimited carrying forward of science and culture, and the organisation of the world communist society in which all human beings will for the first time be able to reach full stature and play their part in the collective development of the future humanity. This is the path of Communism, the path to which the working masses who are the living representatives of the productive forces and whose victory over capitalist class domination can alone achieve the realisation of this path, are increasingly turning; the path which modern science and productive development makes both possible and necessary, and which opens up undreamt-of possibilities for the future development of the human race.

Which of these alternatives will conquer? This is the sharp question confronting human society to-day.

Revolutionary Marxism is confident that, because the productive forces are on the side of Communism, Communism will conquer; that the victory of Communism, which is expressed in the victory of the proletariat, is ultimately inevitable as the sole possible final outcome of the existing contradictions; that the nightmare of the other alternative, of the "Dark Ages" whose creeping shadow begins already to haunt the imagination of current thinkers, will yet be defeated, will be defeated by the organised forces of international Communism.

—R. Palme Dutt in **Fascism and Social Revolution**

I. FASCISM AS THE OUTCOME OF MODERN CAPITALISM

On January 30, 1933 the Nazis took power in Germany; within months the nation was completely under the heel of the fascist cutthroats, big business reigned supreme and unfettered; the largest communist party in the free (enterprise) world, the German CP, had been crushed. The victorious advance of fascism in first Italy, then Portugal, Hungary, and Japan now reached a climax of sorts. (See Part I of this series in **PL** v. 10 #3) It was time for the international communist movement to take stock of fascism, for it could no longer be considered an aberration. The Communist International (Comintern) had to ponder the reasons for these five defeats, to understand the nature of the fascist beast, to contemplate the path to ultimate victory.

In June, 1934, and after fascism attained power in yet another land R. Palme Dutt, a leading theoretician of the Comintern published his **Fascism and Social Revolution,** a serious Marxist-Leninist analysis of fascism. It was the first key response of the Comintern on the ideological front to the fascist successes.

Dutt took as his point of departure the definition given fascism by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928:

> Under certain special historical conditions the progress of the bourgeois, imperialist, reactionary offensive assumes the form of Fascism.
>
> These conditions are: instability of capitalist relationships; the existence of considerable declassed social elements, the pauperization of broad strata of the urban petit-bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia; discontent among the rural petit-bourgeoisie, and, finally, the constant menace of mass proletarian action. In order to stabilise and perpetuate its rule the bourgeoisie is compelled to an increasing degree to abandon the parliamentary system in favour of the fascist system, which is independent of inter-party arrangements and combinations.
>
> The Fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship, ideologically masked by the "national idea" and representation of the "professions" (in reality, representation of the various groups of the ruling class). It is a system that resorts to a peculiar form of social demagogy (anti-Semitism, occasional sorties against usurer's capital and gestures of impatience with the parliamentary "talking shop") in order to utilise the discontent of the petit-bourgeois, the intellectual and other strata of society; and to corruption through the building up of a compact and well-paid hierarchy of Fascist units, a party apparatus and a bureaucracy. At the same time, Fascism strives to permeate the working class by recruiting the most backward strata of the workers to its ranks, by playing upon their discontent, by taking advantage of the inaction of Social Democracy, etc.
>
> The principal aim of Fascism is to destroy the revolutionary labour vanguard, i.e., the Communist sections and leading units of the proletariat. The combination of social demagogy, corruption and active White terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of Fascism. In periods of acute crisis for the bourgeoisie, Fascism resorts to anti-capitalist phraseology, but, after it has established itself at the helm of State, it casts aside its anti-capitalist rattle and discloses itself as a terrorist dictatorship of big capital.

It was important at the outset to make it crystal clear that fascism is a form of the dictatorship of the capitalist class and grows organically out of liberal democracy, another form of the dictatorship of the bourgeosie. There was given ample evidence and numerous examples of this truth in the story of fascism's rise to power in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Japan, and Portugal.

Eduard Daladier

But Dutt went further, in his book he asserted that fascism was not only a form of the capitalist political system, but also for the twentieth century **the** governmental form for capitalism. Using dialectical materialism he proved that **fascism is the natural and logical governmental form** for decadent monopoly capitalism, just as liberalism in its turn had been the natural and logical governmental form for expanding competitive capitalism. The clash of ideas and parties of liberal democracy corresponds to the technical progress and market-place competition of an earlier day. The regimented terror and decadence of fascism corresponds to one-corporation monopoly of the market place and the anti-scientific depravity of today's ruling class. If one accepts these conclusions of Dutt a communist strategy based on the defense of liberal democracy is ruled out. Thus the book was political dynamite.

Dutt offered as his first proof the depression:

> Capital can no longer utilise the productive forces. Capital can no longer utilise the full labour-power of the productive population. Monopoly capitalism is more and more visibly choking the whole organisation of production and exchange.
>
> The working masses can no longer find even the former limited conditions of existence within the conditions of capitalism. Increasing millions are thrown aside as "superfluous." The standards of all are successively attacked. Intensification of labour of the dwindling numbers employed is accompanied by worsening of standards.
>
> The class struggle grows more intense. New forms of widening mass struggle develop. New and intenser methods of repression and coercion are brought into play by the ruling class....
>
> Two alternatives, and only two, confront existing society at the present stage of development of the productive forces and of social organisation.
>
> One is to throttle the development of the productive forces in order to save class-society, to destroy material wealth, to destroy millions of "superfluous" human beings in the slow rot of starvation and the quick furnace of war, to crush down the working-class movement with limitless violence, to arrest the development of science and culture and education and technique, to revert to more primitive forms of limited, isolated societies, and thus to save for a while the rule of the possessing classes at the expense of a return to barbarism and spreading decay. This is the path which finds its most complete and organised expression in Fascism.
>
> The other is to organise the productive forces for the whole society by abolishing the class ownership of the means of production, and building up the classless communist society which can alone utilise and organise the modern productive forces. This is the path of Communism, of the revolutionary working class.

The wholesale destruction and/or the limitation of the production of food carried on by all the imperialist powers, while millions starve—isn't this sufficient proof of capitalism's unworkability? Fascism systematizes and organizes this destruction of the product of human labor and prepares for the wholesale destruction of people in wars and gas chambers.

"Today they are burning wheat and grain; the means of human life. Tomorrow they will be burning living human bodies," Dutt prophetically exclaimed.

For the second proof Dutt pointed to the fact that science and technical advance were more and more opposed by the capitalist class. The large-scale buying up by capitalists of patents in order to suppress them is a well-known scandal. The revolt against science, the revolt against the machine finds its fullest expression in fascism but is derived from the general decadence of modern monopoly capitalism.

> The more and more conscious reactionary role of modern capitalism, and the growing ideological revolt against the machine and sense of antagonism to the development of technique, necessarily expresses itself on a wide front in the entire ideological field. A transformation in the dominant trends of capitalist ideology becomes more and more conspicuous. This transformation expresses itself in the growing revolt against science, against reason, against cultural development, against all the traditional philosophical liberal conceptions which were characteristic of ascendant capitalism; in favour of religion, idealistic illusions, denial of the validity of science, mysticism, spiritualism, multiplying forms of superstition, cults of the primitive, cults of violence, racial charlatanry ("blood" and "Aryan" nonsense) and all forms of obscurantism.

For the third proof Dutt discussed the evolution of bourgeois parliamentary democracy from a progressive instrument in the fight against the old feudal lords into a threadbare cover veiling the increasingly naked repression of the working class. The corrupt French parliament of the thirties of Stavisky, Doumergue, and Laval was such a clear qualitative degeneration from the Convention of 1793 of Marat, Danton, and St. Just that the question had only to be posed.

Similarly in the U.S. today Gerald Ford, Hubert Humphrey, Edward Brooke, Bella Abzug, Wilbur Mills are buffoons utterly incapable of even covering up the bourgeois dictatorship. Compare these corrupt, contemptible, intellectual midgets of today with leaders of the Continental Congress' era. John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Ben Franklin; or to giants of the anti-slavery Reconstruction Congress of 1866: Thadeus Stevens, Ben Butler, Hiram Revels, Charles Sumner. It is like comparing lions with field mice. The comparison has but to be made and it is clear that liberal democracy has played out its historical role. Complete disgust with the congress or parliament is current everywhere. Thus fascism dispenses with parliamentary democracy to the regrets of nobody. But even before that the hollow joke of bourgeois democracy is held increasingly in contempt by the population:

> The stream against parliamentary democracy is rising on all sides, although this does not mean that capitalism has yet exhausted its uses. But the real issue is commonly confused by the vulgar propagandist treatment that the attack on "democracy" is a parallel attack of Communism and Fascism.

> On the contrary. The critique of Communism or Marxism against capitalist democracy is not that it is "too democratic," but that it is "not democratic enough," that it is in reality only a deceitful cover for capitalist dictatorship, and that real democracy for the workers can only be achieved when the proletarian dictatorship breaks the power of the capitalist class. The movement of modern capitalism, on the other hand, against parliamentary democracy is a movement to strengthen repression of the working class and establish the open and violent dictatorship of monopoly capital. The reality of this issue between oligarchic dictatorship and working class freedom breaks through the old illusory trappings of parliamentary democracy.

For the fourth proof Dutt pointed to the tendencies toward "national self-sufficiency" or national "planning" among all nations. This of course leads to war and fascism as the logical outcome. Free trade is the watchword of expanding capitalism, confident of its strength. Measures to restrict trade, various producers' and consumers' cartels' financial gerrymandering that is thinly disguised trade war--this is the hallmark of decaying moribund capitalism. Fascism is the ultimate expression of autarky and war as national policy.

For the fifth and final proof Dutt calls attention to fascistization of the social democrats and other sellout labor "leaders." In Part I, we showed in some detail how these self-appointed labor leaders in Italy, Germany and Hungary paved the way for fascism. This is not accidental, says Dutt. It is inherent in their rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat that these labor "leaders" would ultimately end up in bed with the fascists.

> Social Democracy—modern post-1914 Social Democracy—takes its starting-point and origin in the conception of co-operation with capitalism and with the capitalist State. This line is presented as the line of safe and peaceful, harmonious, "democratic" advance towards Socialism, as opposed to the dangers and destruction of the path of violent revolution. The whole experience of 1914-1933 has demonstrated with inescapable clearness that this line leads, not to Socialism, nor to peaceful progress, nor even to the maintenance of democratic forms in the most limited sense, but to unexampled violence against the working class and strengthening of the capitalist dictatorship and, in the final culmination, to the victory of Fascism, of imperialist war and of all the forces of destruction, against which only the proletarian revolution can avail to save the world.

As for the split in the working class that is often mentioned as a cause of fascism, Dutt clearly lays the blame where it belongs: "It is the unity of the Social Democratic leadership with capitalism that inevitably splits the working class and is the cause of the split."

Do these proofs hold true for today in the U.S.? Obviously more so now that capitalism has decayed for another forty years.

First, with the onset of a new worldwide depression in 1975, this time combined with a barely manageable inflation, capitalism has once more begun the colossal destruction of the product of human labor. Sanitation workers are laid off while the streets get filthier and filthier and rats and rabid bats haunt the cities. Teachers are thrown on the streets while the illiteracy rate climbs; schools are worst precisely in the cultural centers of New York and San Francisco. Calves are slaughtered and burned while people go hungry. Hospital workers are fired while the infant mortality rate climbs. Rapid transit workers are cut back and the fare skyrockets while the cities are choked with autos and pollution, and automobile-caused death stalks the highways. Construction workers can't find a job while other workers can't find a home.

Obviously **modern monopoly capitalism doesn't work.**

Secondly, cultural and scientific degeneration is manifest. The streets of the key cities and small towns are lined with pornographic shops, peep shows, open drug trade, prostitution and the like. The TV shows get progressively more inane, vicious and moronic. The plays and movies copy the porno peep shows in form and in content and call it "art." The scientific establishment has long given up theory and is content only to develop useless gadgets such as moon-probes or digital watches.

Thirdly, politicians are held increasingly beneath contempt. The only way a politician can gain votes these days is to pretend to be against the politicians. What nonsense!

Fourthly, "project independence" is only the latest in a series of autarkic moves by the U.S. government. The dollar devaluation, the quota on Japanese goods, the sugar quota, the grain-deals with Russia, the threats against the oil producers, the recent dumping of lead and zinc on the world market, the mercantile attack on Canadian imports are some of the other moves by U.S. rulers in a widening international trade war. Meanwhile all the imperialists are furiously re-arming in preparation for the hot war to come.

As for our labor "leaders" of today, they are much further down the road to fascism than even Dutt could have dreamed in 1934. The examples of the murder of Dow Wilson by the painters' union officials in 1965, or of Miller crushing the coal miners' wildcat of 1975, or the use of the Ku Klux Klan by the UAW leaders in suppressing the Mack Avenue wildcat in 1973 are sufficient to show this.

All this shows that fascism is the trend and tendency for modern monopoly capitalism today even more than in 1934. Does this mean that fascism can't be beaten? On the contrary, says

Dutt: "Fascism is not inevitable. Fascism only becomes inevitable if the working class follows the line of reformism, of trust in the capitalist state."

But of course if the conditions of modern capitalism breed fascism then a defense of liberal democracy will lead to defeat:

> In consequence, the fight against Fascism cannot be conducted on the basis of trusting to bourgeois "democracy" as the defence against Fascism. To do this means to invite and to guarantee the victory of Fascism. The fight against Fascism can only be conducted on the basis of the united class fight of the workers (leading all the exploited strata) against all the attacks of finance-capital, whether these attacks are conducted through nominal "democratic" forms or through open Fascist forms . . . .
>
> Bourgeois democracy breeds Fascism. Fascism grows organically out of bourgeois democracy. At what point did Dollfuss,* "champion of democracy in Europe," become Dollfuss, champion of Fascism? The process developed through such a series of stages that up to the very last Social Democracy was offering alliance to Dollfuss to "save the constitution," at the same time as Dollfuss was proclaiming the complete principles of Fascism and preparing to turn his guns upon the workers. The more the workers place their trust in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, the more they make sacrifices to save the existing regime as the "lesser evil" against the menace of Fascism, the heavier become the capitalist attacks and the more rapid the advance to Fascism. To preach confidence in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, that is, in the capitalist state, means to invite and to guarantee the victory of Fascism. That is the lesson of Germany and of Austria. And this is the reality which blows to smithereens the deceitful and disastrous slogan of "Democracy versus Dictatorship."

What then is the historical role of fascism? It is the indication of the political bankruptcy of the capitalist class, their own admission that they are no longer fit to rule. Dutt puts it well:

> The laying bare of the civil war at the root of class-society, the explosion of all the illusions of peace and legality—that is, above all, the historical role of Fascism. Fascism attempts to organise society on the basis of permanent civil war, no longer merely with the old state forces, police and military, of repression, but with permanent special armed legions of class-war to hold down the workers. That fact is the most complete expression of the final bankruptcy of capitalism and of the certainty of its collapse. The eyes of all are being opened to the realities of class society and to the real character of the war confronting the working class. The necessity of the workers' dictatorship as the sole means to crush the counter-revolution is becoming understood. The crisis within the post-war Second International since Fascism in Germany is only the expression of this process. As we enter more and more directly into a period of revolutionary conditions, when the working-class movement can only be carried forward by revolutionary methods and under illegal conditions or go under, the will-o'-the-wisp lights of so-called "democratic socialism," that is, of "socialism by permission of the bourgeoisie," inevitably go into eclipse and leave the workers in the bog; only the clear light of revolutionary socialism burns stronger than ever and shows the path forward. The issue becomes more and more clearly no longer even in appearance a question of two tendencies, of two paths for the working-class struggle; in the sight of all, the Communist International alone leads the working-class struggle.

*Dollfuss, fascist leader in Austria. See below.

To sum up, Dutt said:

I. Fascism is the natural governmental form of modern monopoly capitalism and grows organically and inevitably out of liberal bourgeois democracy.

II. Hence to defend liberal bourgeois democracy is to defend the roots of fascism.

III. Therefore only socialism is a viable alternative to fascism.

IV. Therefore only communists can lead the successful battle against fascism.

Clear enough, it would seem.

British communists fight fascists

II. THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN

Dutt's book was a clear-cut proposal to the communist international on how to take the offensive against fascism. It was in essence rejected, apparently even by Dutt himself. The book was published in June 1934. One year later, in July and August 1935, the 7th Congress of the Communist International met and discussed the communist answer to the fascist offensive.

In the main report of the 7th Congress Georgi Dimitrov backed away from the sharpest conclusions in Dutt's book. (Dutt, who was a leading participant in the proceedings, either did not see the difference or, more likely, through conviction or discipline, joined the retreat.)

Dimitrov's report can best be described as a muddle. It is true he emphasized the commitment of the Comintern to the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Most often, however, he used the less sharp-sounding synonym "Soviet democracy," perhaps not to offend his more liberal-minded readers.) Also Dimitrov correctly blamed the Social Democrats for paving the road to fascist power. (But here he drew a distinction between the "reactionary social democrats" and the "Left social democrats," the difference between the two revolving around their attitude toward a united front with communists.)

Even where Dimitrov was essentially correct, a subtle retreat from Dutt's book and what had been the general line of the international communist movement was evident.

Dimitrov, moreover, said nothing about the roots of fascism in bourgeois democracy. He left unmentioned Dutt's thesis that fascism is the logical form of government for modern capitalism. Thus it was easy for him to emphasize the struggle to defend liberal democracy instead of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship. Here is what he said:

> But today the millions of toilers living under capitalism are faced with the necessity of taking a definite stand on these forms in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is clad in the various countries. We are not anarchists and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country: whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed, or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open, fascist form. Though upholders of Soviet democracy, we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains which the working class has wrested in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains. (Dimitrov, **supra**, p. 111.)

(First note how Dimitrov uses the milder sounding expression "Soviet democracy" in place of the more scientifically precise "dictatorship of the proletariat." Second, note how he muddles the real differences between anarchists and Marxists. These differences have nothing to do with the attitude toward bourgeois governments, but rather with the attitude toward revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The point is well made in Engel's pamphlet, "The Bakunists at Work." Anarchists oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat; Marxists uphold it. That's all.)

Of course tactically communists may defend certain aspects of bourgeois legality even against the desires of the bourgeoisie. **But the emphasis here in this passage and throughout the report is not Marxist.** Compare: Dutt said (to paraphrase): Tactically, we will fight fascistization of the liberal regimes, but even here we fight only to better be able to organize the revolution, and we concentrate on organizing the Revolution, our only defense against fascism. Dimitrov said: Sure, if a chance for revolution comes, take it, but right now we must concentrate on bending all efforts to save liberal democracy.

Thus the tactics of the Communist International up to that point were turned upside down.

The main tactic Dimitrov proposed was a united front with the treacherous Social Democratic leaders, the ones who worked so hard to pave the way for fascism in Germany, Hungary and elsewhere. The results of this misguided tactic we shall see below.

Dimitrov then proceeded to say that the communists were prepared to join a government with the Social Democrats. He clearly states (p. 69) that this government would not be a dictatorship of the proletariat. But since Marxism-Leninism teaches that a state can only be either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, Dimitrov was, in effect, proposing that communists join the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. True, he put many conditions in the way of that project, more or less boiling down to requiring a state of violent anti-fascist action. But even when in Spain (see Section III) the conditions were met, the results of this "united front government" were not good. The French Communist Party took up the essence of Dimitrov's suggestions, ignoring his conditions, joined a capitalist government in 1936 and betrayed the working class nationally and internationally (see below Section IV).

To sum up, Dimitrov:

1. implied that liberal democracy as well as fascism are logical governments for modern capitalism;
2. said it was important to defend liberal democracy;
3. said an "anti-fascist united front government" was as equally a viable alternative to fascism as socialism;
4. therefore drew the conclusion that revisionist social democrats as well as communists could lead the battle against fascism.

The disastrous consequences of following this line will be made clear below.

III. SPAIN — ¡NO PASARAN!

Spain in the Thirties became the focus of all the key contradictions in the world. Not only the main contradiction—fascism **vs.** communism—but all the secondary contradictions also appeared most sharply in Spain. Thus Spain became a battleground of fascism **vs.** liberalism, marxism **vs.** anarchism, communism **vs.** trotskyism, marxism-leninism **vs.** revisionism, the line of united front government **vs.** the line of proletarian dictatorship, nationalism **vs.** internationalism, clericalism **vs.** anti-clericalism, capitalists **vs.** workers, etc. Clearly, these contradictions related to the resolution of the main contradiction —fascism **vs.** communism.

Spain seemed an unlikely focus of the world's contradictions. It was an underdeveloped country (U.S.-owned ITT controlled the Spanish Telephone Co.; British Rio-Tinto Zinc owned all the Spanish copper mines) with a weak and decadent government, and an Army that had known nothing but defeat for nearly 350 years. The more recent ignominious defeats of Spain had been at the hands of the Cubans in 1898, and at the hands of the Moroccans in the Twenties. Yet the decadence and weakness of the old ruling hierarchies, military, bureaucratic and Catholic, only made the revolutionary spirit more urgent among the rapidly growing working class. The weakness of the ruling class and the revolutionary spirit of the working class led the former to try desperately to shore up the old society. Fascism was the answer, but the weak hold the ruling classes had on any section of Spanish society, including the petty-bourgeois, made the passage to fascism necessarily more prolonged and painful than in Italy or Germany. Thus the pre-fascist Facta government needed only a few months in Italy, the Brunning pre-fascist government needed less than two years in Germany while the pre-fascist Primo de Rivera government in Spain needed seven years (1923-1930) and then its work was nearly undone in the republican electoral victory of 1931 and the abdication of King Alfonso XIII that same year.

In the years 1931-1935 the old regime showed its inability to rule. The first period (1931-1933) was marked by anti-church and anti-monarchy violent demonstrations, several big strike waves in Seville, San Sebastian and other towns. The liberals managed the Republic and earned the disgust of all. The second period (1933-1935) was marked by the magnificent rebellion of the Asturias miners in 1934 which was put down by one General Francisco Franco at the cost of 1300 workers dead and 30,000 imprisoned. (Franco had been selected for this job by multimillionaire Juan March.) The conservatives managed the Republic in this period to the intense hatred of the working class and the peasants.

Spain in 1931-1935, like Italy in 1919, was a nation with a ruling class too weak to rule, but with a working class devoid of the bold authoritative leadership that can take advantage of such favorable conditions. The roots of this tragedy go back to 1872 when the anarchists, expelled from the international communist movement by Karl Marx, took the Spanish section of the International with them in isolation from Marxism. Despite their follies during the uprising of 1873, to the disgust of Marx and Engels, the anarchists remained in control of the working class movement of Spain up to 1936. Side by side with the anarchist groups and anarchist trade-unions there grew a reformist social democratic party (SP) and reformist social democratic unions. Marxism was only represented by a very small Spanish Communist Party. Thus the revolutionary period of 1931-1935 produced no revolution, only a strengthening of the determination of the bourgeoisie to maintain the old regime at all costs.

In March 1931 two small fascist groups in Madrid and Valladolid founded a newspaper **La Conquista del Estado** and in the fall coalesced into a fascist party, the Jons. In February 1934 the Jons merged with another fascist party, the Falange Espanola headed by the aristocrat Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the general who

Primo de Rivera

had ruled Spain from 1923-1930. The new party, now headed by Primo de Rivera, called the Falange Espanola de J.O.N.S. (Spanish Falange of Groups of National Syndicalist Offensive) took as its flag the anarchist black and red colors, on which was superimposed the yoke and arrows of the Catholic kings of the 14th and 15th centuries. The Falange was financed in its early days by Juan March, the Bank of Vizcaya, and other ruling class figures and institutions. The program of the Falange was the typical mixture of radical-sounding petty-bourgeois demands, anti-communism, and nationalism. The Falange demanded: the nationalization of transport, banking and insurance companies; state control of foreign trade; the acquisition of Gibraltar from England, of Morocco and Algeria from France; the parti-

tioning of the big landed estates; forcible suppression of the Basque and Catalan national minorities; the outlawing of the CP and SP. Indeed, the "outlawing of class struggle" altogether.

The Falange, however, remained small; they were unable to win a single seat in Parliament in the elections of February 1936. Its base was entirely made up of university students, upper class aristocrats, officers and playboys and a handful of taxi-drivers and waiters in Madrid.

The elections in 1936, which were such an ignominious defeat for the Falange, were a big triumph (at least on paper) for the Left and for the new communist line of "united front" proposed by Dimitrov eight months earlier. The CP had fashioned together a Popular Front (PF) which consisted of the CP, SP and liberal republicans.* The Popular Front won 278 seats (only 17 for the CP and 99 for the SP, but 162 for the liberals) against 134 for the conservative National Front and 55 for the center parties.[2]

Even though the new Popular Front government meant no change in terms of fundamental state power, and the only political moves that the new PF prime minister Azana made were to proclaim a general amnesty and to fire Franco, the butcher of Asturias, the election set in motion forces on the Right and on the Left, determined to complete the unfinished business of 1931-1935. First the Left: peasants began widescale land seizures, while almost daily gun battles took place between anarchist workers and Falange gunmen. Kidnappings and murders of PF and of fascist officers and political leaders became more and more common as summer approached. The PF government refused to arm the workers, who were well aware of the advanced plans for a fascist coup. But at the last minute the PF did arrest the leadership of the Falange, including Primo de Rivera (who was subsequently executed after the fascist rising), and a republican officer shot and killed the fascist parliamentary leader Sotelo on July 13.

On July 17 the leading generals of the Spanish Army headed by Franco, Mola, Quiepo, picked up the fascist banner from the beheaded Falange** and launched a fascist coup that started in the colonies and was supposed to sweep Spain in a few days. The fascists miscalculated, however; fierce resistance met them at every turn, even in "Spanish" Morocco and on almost all the naval warships. The fascist crossing into Spain was delayed because of mutinies by anti-fascist sailors; the fascist arrival into southern Spain was met by unbelievably heroic resistance by workers who held out three days in Seville, six days in Granada against the bulk of the Army. On July 19 the hesitant PF government, at the insistence of the CP, passed out arms to the workers and in most of the main cities of northern and central Spain the fascist coup was crushed. (Fifty fascist churches were burned in Madrid; in Pozoblanco 170 fascist police were wiped out.) The stage was set for a protracted civil war.

What Franco and his generals lacked in military prowess they made up for in brutality, which at that time outdid even the Nazi barbarism. Some 9000 workers were shot in Seville; 2000 in Saragossa, 5000 in Granada, 7000 in Navarre, 3000 in Majorca.**3** The working class in the PF cities, in return, showed no tendency to turn the other cheek. Some 5000 fascist priests and 12 bishops were executed as fascist agents; homes and hotels of the rich were expropriated; in many smaller towns the bourgeoisie was totally exterminated. Even though in the larger cities the PF government was able to prevent the wholesale liquidation of the capitalist class, workers investigating commissions ("Chekas"—named after the famed Bolshevik anti-counter-revolution squads) arrested and executed known fascist agents and particularly brutal exploiters.

A tremendous surge of revolutionary energy was manifest in the Republican two thirds of Spain, as workers' committees seized factories and ran them as socialist enterprises; collective farms were formed in the countryside; all sorts of co-ops flourished and working class culture and art bloomed. Yet, republican Spain was divided. The Basque nationalists and clergy dominated in the Northern Basque provinces; Anarchists controlled Catalonia, Aragon and republican Andalusia; the CP-SP trade-unions dominated in Madrid and Central Spain; in Asturias it was the CP, SP and Anarchists together; in Malaga the CP; in Santander the SP, etc. The central government was initially in the hands of the wishy-washy liberal republicans, later on in the hands of the mild reformist SP. With no unified, aggressive and authoritative central leadership the republicans, despite their heroism and the revolutionary energy of the working class, went from defeat to defeat.

At the end of July a fascist offensive on Madrid was halted, but republican counteroffensives in August and September had only local successes in Asturias and Ibiza. In the fall the fascist advance resumed in the capture of Toledo amidst much butchery. With direct aid from Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and fascist Portugal, Franco advanced again on Madrid in October 1936. The BF government fled the city, but the CP stayed on and organized the workers' resistance. Help came from the Comintern in the form of International Brigades of anti-fascist volunteers from all over Europe and America and military equipment and advisors from the Soviet Union. After fierce battles in the suburbs in November, northwest of Madrid in January 1937 and at Jarama south of Madrid in February, the communist-led forces defeated the fascist offensive, stabilized the front and saved Madrid. In March the CP forces took the offensive and routed Italian fascist forces, killing 2000.

With the CP solid in Madrid, Franco moved on

*The term "Republican," in Spain refers to adherents of a republic; in other words opposition to the monarcy or fascism.

**After Primo de Rivera's execution, Franco became head of the Falange.

Hitler and Franco (1940)

the weaker links in the Republican chain. The Basque provinces were the target of a spring 1937 offensive. Nazi bombers provided a foretaste of the World War II terror-bombing in Guernica where 1700 civilians were killed. At a crucial point in the fierce battle on April 24, the anarchist battalions withdrew from the front, causing a collapse of the Basque front.[4] Bilbao the Basque capital surrendered to the fascist butchers on June 17 leaving all of northwest Spain in Franco's hands. The fascists advanced all that summer capturing Santander on August 22, subduing the Asturias in September—October.

The battle of Teruel in the winter of 1937-1938 ended the hopes of the republicans. It was a disastrous defeat caused by the anti-communist bungling of the SP leader Prieto. The republic lost 30,000 dead, and some 21,500 anti-fascist soldiers were captured by the forces of Franco. In the spring of 1938 the fascists made key gains in Aragon and cut the republic in two. Fierce fighting continued along the River Ebro in 1938. The outnumbered, out-gunned republicans resisted all that year thanks to CP leadership and Soviet help, but the end came in early 1939. Barcelona fell on January 26; Madrid was surrendered by SP traitors in March. On March 31 the fascists controlled all of Spain. The Pope telegramed congratulations to Franco, now head of state of a fascist Spain. Some 600,000 had died in the three year war; some 1.5 million would be executed by the fascists; one-half million fled Spain; two million were put in concentration camps. The Dark Ages and the Inquisition returned to Spain.[5]

In assessing the reasons for the defeat of Spain, there are two sets of causes, some objective, relating to the unfavorable balance of international forces in 1936-1939 and to the historically strong position of anti-Marxist forces within the Spanish working-class movement. The second set consists of subjective mistakes made by the Communist Party which, despite their initial weakness, eventually shouldered the burden of holding back the fascist locusts. First, the objective factors: 1) the commitment of international fascism; 2) the betrayal by the bourgeois democracies; 3) the internal sabotage of the anarchists and their trotskyite lap dogs.

The fascists were in touch with Mussolini and Hitler even before the coup, and if it hadn't been for the massive aid of Germany and Italy, Franco's forces would have collapsed early in the war. Even the crossing from "Spanish" Morocco to Spain would have been impossible without external aid. In the course of the war Mussolini's Italy sent 763 planes, 1700 tanks, 8000 motor vehicles, 91 warships and 14 billion lire to Franco's Spain. Some 50,000 Italian fascist combat troops and 6000 pilots were in Spain during the war. Nazi Germany's material aid was on the same level as Italy's and some 10,000 Nazis of the Condor Legion fought in Spain, along with some 30 German anti-tank companies and 6000 German pilots, technicians and advisors. Fascist Portugal contributed the 20,000-man Legion de Viriato. Also 600 Irish fascists, a sprinkling of French fascists, and anti-communist Russian exiles fought on the fascist side.[6]

In terms of man-power the fascists imported three times as many non-Spaniards as the republicans. The fascist air force was entirely German and Italian. Spain's seacoasts were patrolled by German and Italian submarines which sank numerous Soviet and neutral supply ships. After the summer of 1937 the German and Italian navies were effective in preventing all but a very small amount of war materiel from reaching Republican Spain by sea.

Since Spain's only land borders were with fascist Portugal and bourgeois democratic France, the military supply situation in underdeveloped Spain depended almost totally on the whim of the French government. France at the time was governed by a Popular Front consisting of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and

Italian army priests give fascist salute

"Radical Republicans." Initially (July 20, 1936) the popular front government of France decided to aid its "brother" popular front government in Spain. However, within five days the popular front government in France "succumbed" to U.S. and British pressure and cancelled all aid. Thereafter the French government periodically closed and reopened the border to Spain; harassed Soviet shipments across the border; interfered with anti-fascist fighters on the way to Spain; seized the Spanish gold supply in Paris and refused to let their PF "brothers" use their own gold to buy arms. On June 13, 1938 with the fascist offensive on the Ebro at hand and Valencia in danger of being captured by the fascists, the French government permanently closed its border with Spain, thus making all outside aid to the Republic dependent on the hazardous sea route.

The British government sabotaged even more consistently the Republican effort. In fact, it was a British secret service agent, Pollard, who, on the eve of the coup, interceded with Republican authorities who had detained Franco en route from the Canary Islands to a meeting with his friends. Franco was released and Britain's allegiance to the fascist cause continued throughout the war. The British bourgeois democratic government used its full diplomatic muscle to see to it that no government sold arms to Republican Spain. Except for aid from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the British were successful in this endeavor. In the U.S. the Roosevelt administration never wavered in its refusal to allow the Republicans to purchase war materiel, although Roosevelt did nothing to prevent Texaco from **giving free** petroleum to the fascists. Ford, G.M. and Studebaker sold 12,000 trucks to the fascists for military use during the war, while not a single bullet reached the Republican forces from the U.S.

Tragically, the Spanish Civil War demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the Soviet line at that time which advocated depending on the "lesser-evil" liberal governments to help in the fight against the "main-evil" fascists.

The enemy within Spain was also destructive. The anarchist organizations (FAL-CNT and the allied trotskyite POUM), wittingly or unwittingly played the role of accomplices to Franco. The anarchists had the upper hand in Andalusia, Aragon and Catalonia, including Barcelona. Andalusia fell to the fascists in the early stages of the war, but for nearly a year in the other two provinces the anarchists ruled. There they proved to be repressive and inefficient at the same time, eventually losing most of their support among the working class. Militarily the anarchist battalions rarely fought the fascists, but stayed in the rear to "defend the anarchist revolution," not against fascism, but against the CP or the PF government. If they by chance found themselves on the front lines, their withdrawal could come at any time without warning to other Republican detachments, as on September 28, 1936, when they fled the Tagus River front, thus delivering Toledo to the fascists, or on November 15, 1936 when the anarchists abandoned University City just outside Madrid to the fascists, giving the latter a wedge to take the capitol. Only the timely arrival of the International Brigades saved Madrid from this anarchist treachery. We already mentioned the anarchist withdrawal in April, 1937 that so greatly aided the fascist conquest of the Basque Country.

Internationals relieving anarchist troops on the Ebro River a year after the beginning of the war found no fortifications, and positions a full two kilometers from Fascist lines. Exactly two casualties had been admitted to the nearby military hospital in the previous three months. Anarchist militias had elevated chaos into a political principle. A leaflet distributed in Aragon stated that: "We do not recognize military formations because this is the negation of Anarchism. Winning the war does not mean winning the revolution. Technology and strategy are important in the present war, not discipline which presupposes a negation of the personality."

If in nothing else, Durruti* was certainly right when he lamented that "War is made by soldiers, not by Anarchists."

The Internationals also found a peasant population embittered against Republican forces by the Anarchist seizures. The commissar of the Lincoln Brigade found one farmer incredulous that he was offered money for food instead of worthless script. The sullen attitudes of the Aragon farmers contrasted markedly with the enthusiastic support that had met the People's Army forces outside Anarchist-controlled areas.

On the Fascist side, the Aragon front was very weakly held; a Franco historian says that the Fascists were able to remove forces from that front to attack Madrid. POUMists and their defenders have excused their criminal footdragging by the lack of arms for POUM and FAI-CNT forces, claiming that communists withheld Soviet material from Aragon. Orwell, for example, explains their failure to attack, despite the desires of the rank-and-file militiamen, by the lack of artillery and maps, the difficult terrain, and the fact that there was only one machine gun for every fifty men. With the same material difficulties—including one machine gun per fifty men—the communist-led 35th Division forced the Ebro River in July, 1938, advanced 25 kilometers, captured 4 towns and 2500 prisoners. The POUM leaders' attitude is amply summed up by a remark Orwell quotes from his POUM commander Georges Kopp: "This is not war, it is comic opera with an occasional death." As we have seen, things weren't so comic on the Madrid front.

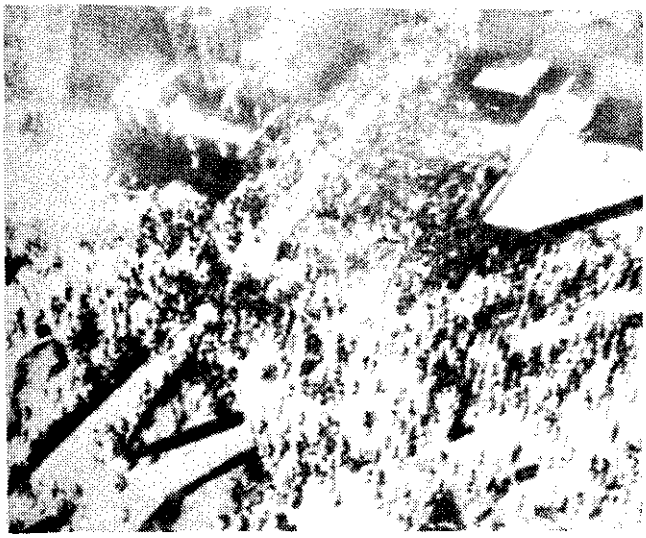
Still, it must be said that the material

*Durruti was an anarchist leader.

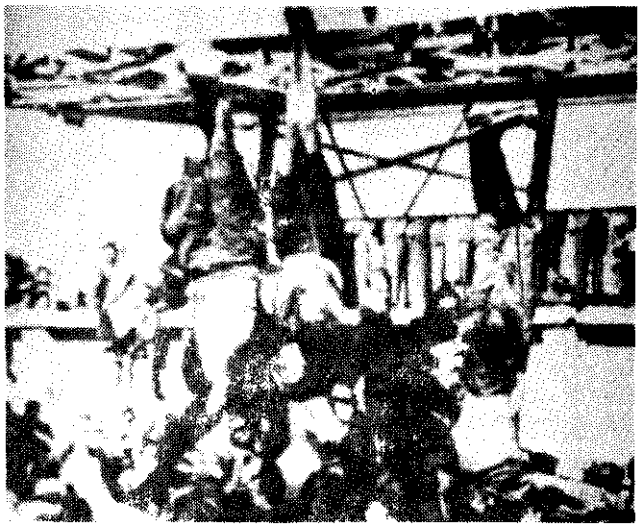
French workers in Paris suburb of Clicy rebel in March 1937 against wage-cutting, strike-busting policies of Popular Front government

CIO organizer, Jim Napier, off to war.
"I realize that Hitler is the greatest menace in the world today. That's why I have joined the army — to do my part to crush fascism. I sincerely hope that the workers of Canada will keep up the fight against fascism in Canada so that when the boys come back, they won't come back to the conditions they left."

German Communist soldiers in Spain, 1936



Mussolini's 'last great audience,
Milan 4/29/45



Mussolini, mistress and follower
hung in Milan, 1/29/45

shortages on the Aragon front do have a sinister explanation—but not the one the red-baiters offer. After the War, FAIist Abad de Santillian obliged us with a frank confession: "If all the leaders of the Libertarian organizations had ever seriously resolved to send all their armament, their war material and their best men to the front—the war would easily have been over in a few months ...We can no longer conceal the fact that while, at the front itself, we had but 30,000 rifles (and perhaps as many as 24 batteries, 100 heavy guns) in the rear in the power of the organizations, we had an additional 60,000 rifles with more ammunition than was ever in the proximity of the enemy." (Quoted from **PL**, Vol. 9 #5.)

The cowardly anarchist withdrawal in the Basque Country did much to turn the whole of republican Spain against their misleadership. Nine months of misrule in Barcelona alienated most of the Catalan working class from anarchism. In these circumstances on May 3, 1937, fascist agents who were instrumental in the trotskyite POUM, allies of the anarchists in Barcelona, made a move designed to hand over Catalonia to the fascists. On that day Franco ordered his agents in the POUM to start shooting at CP and PF cadre in Barcelona.* This set off street fighting between anarchist units that had been withdrawn from the front and the communist workers. After some bitter fighting the POUM-fascist-anarchist coup was crushed by the working class of Barcelona, now estranged from anarchist influence. Some 400 were killed in this trotskyite plot to hand over to the fascists Spain's number two city. The counter-revolutionary POUM was then suppressed and anarchist influence declined, but the enemy within had managed to cripple the Republican cause.

Faced with the Nazis, the Italian and Portuguese fascists, the Spanish ruling class and the bulk of the Spanish army, police and bureaucracy as open enemies, as well as the British, French and U.S. ruling classes as not-so-hidden hidden enemies, and the liberals, trotskyites and anarchists as saboteurs within the Republican camp, the communists and the PF fought under very unfavorable conditions. However, revolutionaries are never defeated primarily by the external enemy: internal weaknesses are the key to understanding unfavorable developments.

The biggest weakness of the CP was the PF and the political line of Dimitrov. That communists fought as **Republicans** and not as **revolutionaries** was the albatross around their necks. This was the main contradiction that decisively affected all the other contradictions. Especially after the events of November 1936, when the bourgeois government abandoned Madrid leaving the defense of the capital to the CP and the International Brigade, then was it possible and necessary for the CP to seize power in the name of the working class. The struggle then would have been socialism vs. fascism, instead of a fight between two sets of capitalists. The dictatorship of the proletariat was a timely, a realistic goal in the Spain of 1937-1939. Had the CP in November 1936 openly led a revolutionary war for socialism, the loss of some liberal bourgeois support would have been more than offset by the greater energy of a working class fighting to end all forms of exploitation and all exploiters. By denying the workers the attainable goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the CP denied them a chance to destroy **all** their enemies and to form a second working class state. This denial of its birthright by the CP led the CP into policies that cost it the war.*

Instead of bending all efforts to win socialism, the CP bent all efforts to secure its alliance with the SP and the bourgeois republicans. This proved to be a steadily worsening disaster. Thus the CP backed the liberal Azana as first head of the PF. Azana's stubborn refusal to arm the workers in the face of obvious fascist preparation in the first weeks of July 1936 ensured the success of the fascist revolt and delivered most of southern Spain's unarmed workers to the fascist firing squads. On September 4, the CP united behind Largo Caballero, the "Left" Socialist, to form the second Popular Front. Caballero's policies of placing the cowardly anarchists in key positions cost the Republic dearly at Toledo, Madrid, the Basque Country, and in Aragon, as we saw. Finally, after Caballero's friends in the POUM tried to hand over Barcelona to the fascists, disgust was so universal that Caballero was forced to resign on May 16, 1937.

By this time the prestige and power of the CP was such that they easily could have named a communist to head the government and no one would have been surprised. Only a few middle-class liberals would have been alienated. But the CP stuck dogmatically to the united front line and backed Negrin and Prieto, two right-wing SP'ers as successive prime ministers. The latter was responsible for the disastrous defeat at Tervul in January 1938 when he refused for baldly anti-communist reasons to send the International Brigades to stave off the disaster. In March Prieto, this CP-backed "anti-fascist" leader, was loudly proclaiming an imminent Republican defeat. Finally Prieto was ousted, but the CP doggedly refused, even at this late date, to take the government in its own name and to carry on the war in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The final act of this all too real tragedy took place in the last days of Madrid in February and March, 1939. There, a Frankenstein monster—a

* Franco proudly admitted these facts to the German ambassador, and the story came out in the Nurembourg trials. (*Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*. series D, Vol. III, p. 286.)

* Editor's note: Consider what the fight for a new socialist state would have meant to the international working class in 1936!

Prieto

product of the last experiment in united front politics one Colonel Casado, turned on the CP who had put him in power and tried to hand over to them peacefully the city the fascists couldn't conquer.

Four days of street fighting occurred between the CP and their former PF partners before Casado took the city on March 10 and executed a number of CP members. Casado then opened negotiations for surrender with Franco on March 19. But, with the CP out of the way, Franco had no need for Casado and his SP-Anarchist backers. The PF minus the CP fled the city and Franco marched in by the end of March.

The same disastrous Dimitrov policies were pursued in the international sphere. Instead of relying entirely on the workers of the world and the international communist movement, the CP of Spain pursued a dual policy. On the one hand, there was reliance on the indispensable International Brigades organized by the Comintern and on arms from the Soviet Union; on the other there was currying favor with and trying to win over the liberal leaders in the U.S., France and Britain. A great deal of effort was wasted on this hopeless task. And the Soviet Union made more than a few compromises on the diplomatic front in an attempt to win the cooperation of these liberal ruling classes on a joint anti-fascist policy. These compromises were costly ideologically and materially, and they were SO PATHETICALLY FUTILE. They fed an irrational PF fantasy that if the communist International Brigades were withdrawn, the Nazis and other foreign fascists would also withdraw. And, incredibly, on October 1938 the International Brigades **were** withdrawn. Of course, the fascists made no analogous move. Another very costly bow to liberalism!

The same acquiescence to bourgeois forces in the PF occurred in regard to the losing military tactics used by the PF.

The "united front" line in Spain guaranteed that the military tactics were, in the main, bourgeois and that tactics of revolutionary warfare were used only as the exception. Guerrilla tactics (used by the partisans in WW II), house-to-house urban military operations, are the types of warfare necessary for revolutionary class warfare. Trench warfare, massive movements through open fields are characteristic of bourgeois warfare. The working class and revolutionary peasants prefer a mobile warfare based near their homes, where they know the territory best, where family and friends meld in together with the front-line troops, where the element of surprise is theirs, and a war to annihilate and demoralize the alien counter-revolutionary troops can best take place. The bourgeoisie prefers large set-piece battles in the open where their strengths in technology, air power and military training can be used to the fullest. Therefore a conscientiously revolutionary army avoids like the plague big set-piece battles in open fields, never attacks enemy strong-points head on, keeps its troops quartered among the people, usually in small units that have great mobility and can surprise and outflank the enemy.

The PF military tactics were disastrous because the Nazi and Italian fascist legionnaires, as well as the regulars of the Spanish Army, had a big advantage in terms of air power, technology and training. Courage and close ties with the workers and peasants of Spain were the strengths of the Republicans, and especially of the CP-led units. These qualities could have been put to far greater advantage if tactics of revolutionary warfare had been used.

But the liberals and revisionists had no intention of turning the civil war into a revolutionary class war. Moreover, the military campaigns were often conducted not to annihilate the fascists, but to impress the liberal bourgeoisie abroad. Thus, disasters or at best pyrrhic victories stalked the republican armies. In August 1936 a Republican invasion of Majorca to free the fascist-dominated island was defeated amidst much losses. This campaign, however, was not so big or costly as some of the later campaigns that followed—particularly the battle of Jarama (February 1937, 25,000 Republicans killed), the battle of Teruel (January 1938, 50,000 Republicans wiped out), the battle of the Ebro (July-October 1938, 70,000 Republican casualties). This last campaign, which like the battle of Teruel started with a Republican head-on advance on the strongest lines held by the fascists, caused 70 percent of the International Brigades to be wiped out, squandered 24,000 rifles and 1800 machine guns, all of which were irreplaceable due to the blockade. The fascist victory followed shortly.

Contrast these disastrous tactics with the experiences of the Chinese communists, who, outnumbered 10 to 1 and outgunned even more, defeated and destroyed millions of fascist troops, Chinese and Japanese. The Spanish communists knew of these experiences; they had been discussed at international conferences. They knew

also of the experiences of Spanish fighters who 130 years previously defeated Napoleon by means of guerrilla warfare. The error was not military and was not caused by ignorance—it was **political** and flowed from the Spanish Communist Party's acceptance of the united front line of Dimitrov. Incidently, in those cases where the PF broke down temporarily and the CP conducted the war as communists, revolutionary military tactics were often used highly successfully, as in the house-to-house fighting of the International Brigades that saved Madrid in 1936, or in the guerrilla war waged in the mountains and towns of Asturias (1937-1938) by the miners and other workers.

The relationship of racism and fascism was only imperfectly understood by the International Communist Movement. A more militant and systematic struggle against anti-Semitism in Germany might have stunted the growth of the Nazis. In Spain the CP had distinguished itself even less in the fight against racism—no communist aid ever reached the Moroccan or other colonial subjects of the Spanish ruling class; the CP was weakest precisely in the areas of national minorities—the Basque Country, Galicia and Catalonia. But the united front policy took a bad thing and made it many times worse. The PF government published vile racist posters and other materials against the Moroccan troops drafted to fight with the fascists. The PF government, not Hitler, talked about Moroccans "attacking defenseless white women." The Spanish CP, to their everlasting shame, supported their PF allies in this rubbish. In so doing and in refusing to support independence for "Spanish" Morocco, the PF lost a valuable ally—the Moroccan workers and peasants.

The Spanish Civil War was a defeat for the united front policy, but, in spite of all these mistakes, not for communism. All the disastrous mistakes and blundering tactics can never overshadow the magnificent effort of the international Communist movement. And the vulnerability as well as the bestiality of fascism was brought into sharp relief in Spain. International fascism put its first foot in the grave in Spain. Six years and one month after his protege marched into Madrid, Hitler committed suicide underneath the wreckage of the Nazi capital. After the French units, the German ThaelmannBrigade was the largest and suffered the most casualties. Some Germans, like Hans Beimler who escaped from Dachau, had to brave incredible dangers just to reach Spain. The German communists and anti-fascists in the International Brigades put lie to the myth that all Germans cooperated with the Nazis.

Through the British-Italian-Nazi blockade, and at great risk to Soviet sailors, came all the arms for the Republican side in Spain. This first socialist state provided 242 aircraft, 900 cannons, almost 1000 tanks, over 100,000 tons of munitions, 12,000 motor vehicles and even 47 million roubles for civilian aid. Some 1000 Soviet officers and men served with the Spanish Republicans and in many cases provided the margin of victory. For example, it was Soviet tank men, led by General Pavlov, who smashed an early (October 1936) fascist cavalry assault on Madrid.[8]

The Comintern organized the International Brigades that were so crucial in many early battles. The extremely high casualty rate of the Internationals testifies to their heroism and their courage. Of the 10,000 French Internationals, 3000 were killed; of the 5000 German anti-fascist forces, 2000 (40 percent) died, and of the 3200 in the U.S. Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1500 were lost. Even the eventual defeat does not mar the bravery and courage of the members of the International Brigades; and the commitment of the Communist International to internationalism stands as an inspiration and model to Communists today.

In 1939 the Comintern proudly summarized the experience of the International Brigades:

> The Spanish people will never forget the help the world Communist movement rendered them by the forming of the International Brigades.
>
> The International Brigades did not consist of Communists only, but it was on their initiative that these brigades were formed and organized. The French Communist Party assigned this work to its most capable workers, its finest organizers. It was no easy task to convey tens of thousands of men through closed frontiers, overseas and even across the Atlantic Ocean.
>
> The bourgeoisie raided the volunteers, persecuted and prosecuted them; but these men defied all obstacles, made their way through mountain paths, by night, waist deep in snow, and in fishing smacks, at the risk of being sunk any minute. The ranks of the volunteers were joined by French proletarians—the descendants of the Paris Communards—by Italian refugees, German anti-fascists, Canadian lumberjacks, who proved

Chu Teh

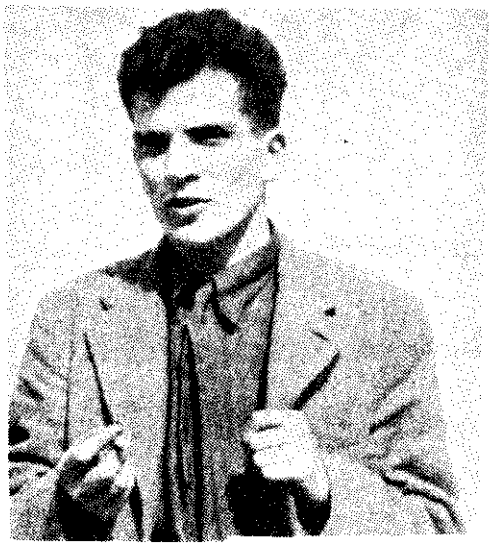
to be marvelous snipers, and Polish workers, whose battalion, the Dombrovsky Battalion, was the first to fall upon the enemy forces during the Ebro offensive, having swum the river without waiting for the pontoon bridges to be built.

The Communist Parties of fifty-three countries were represented in the International Brigades, having sent, in addition to the others who were eager to join, quite a number of Central Committee members and leading Party workers. Among them were men like Hans Beimler, a member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, who had been crippled in a German concentration camp, and who fell at Palasete crying, "Rot Front!" There were men like the Hungarian Communist, old Hevesi, who led the Rakosi Battalion in an attack on one of the enemy's concrete fortifications at Huesca, captured it, but, like the battalion commissar, died a heroic death. There were rank-and-filers like John, an English truck driver, who under heavy fire brought water to the men who were tormented with thirst; when mortally wounded, he said: "If Comrade Stalin saw this he would clap me on the back and say: "Well done, John, you're a fine comrade, John!' "

Of course it fell to the Spanish Communist Party, and the working class it led, to bear the brunt of the assault on Spain by international fascism. Until Spain, fascism had captured with relative ease country after country in Europe—Italy, Portugal, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Poland. But in Spain the fascist advance was blocked for nearly three crucial years. This resistance stalled the fascist's aggressive plans. For as long as the Nazi military machine was tied down in Spain, the long planned war against the U.S.S.R. had to be put off. The resistance in Spain demonstrated to the world that fascism could be had, that the working class could and would resist fascism even under the unfavorable conditions of Spain. The resistance in Spain demonstrated to J.V. Stalin and the leadership of the International Communist movement the complicity of the "liberal democracies" in the rise of fascism and the futility of any further concessions to the liberals.

The fall of Madrid roughly coincided with the Nazi occupation of Prague as per previous agreement with Chamberlain, prime minister of Britain. One month later Molotov, a top veteran communist leader, replaced as Soviet foreign minister Litvinov, who had for so long tried in vain to woo the liberal governments into an anti-fascist stand. The Soviet leadership cast away illusions and prepared for the long solitary fight.

Finally, the resistance in Spain trained the leaders of the peoples' armies that were to smash the fascist hordes in the war to come. Rokossovsky, who organized the system of political commissars in Spain, was to become one of the



John Cornford,
English poet killed in the Sierra Morena

top Soviet World War II commanders. Gero who headed the Comintern's efforts in Madrid, six years later led the anti-fascist resistance in Hungary. Tito organized Yugoslav detachments that fought in Spain—these, a few years later, provided the leadership for the partisan movement in Yugoslavia; Shehu, who led the successful peoples' war in Albania, had been a volunteer in Spain. Longo, leader of the highly successful Italian resistance, was a top Comintern representative in Spain. Gottwald of Czechoslovokia, Ulbricht of Germany were other communist leaders who got their training in Spain.

In Spain the fascists took their first step into the grave.

Although two million were imprisoned, Spanish fascism was never stable enough to permit foreign adventures. Franco dispatched his Blue Division to fight on the Nazi side in Russia, but that was only a token payment to the Axis for all the help they had given Franco. The resistance in Spain was responsible for the neutralization of fascist Spain during World War II.

IV. THE TWILIGHT OF FRANCE

In France the bitter aftermath of the Paris Commune of 1871 left such a deep sense of hatred between workers and capitalists that the latter had been toying with the idea of fascism even before Mussolini and Hitler were born. In the 1880s there was the attempt to install General Boulanger as head of a proto-fascist France; in the 1890s an extreme anti-Jewish, anti-socialist agitation accompanied the Dreyfus affair; in the first decade of the 20th Century, the **Action Francaise** and its paramilitary goon squad, the **Camelots du Roi** were formed. The strongly class-conscious French working class smashed these early fascist proto-types. It was the Paris workers, led by the survivors of the Commune,

who dashed the hopes of General Boulanger; it was the French Socialist Party of Jaures and especially the revolutionary wing led by Guesde who saved Captain Dreyfus and then went on to shatter the position of the fascist-minded Catholic Church; and it was the workers' strike wave of 1908-1912 that shunted the **Action Francaise** into a dead-end spur.

But the outbreak of World War I brought about the assasination of Jaures and the betrayal of Guesde. The leadership of the Socialist Party allied with the bourgeoisie, forsook revolutionary politics and prepared the ground for a revival of fascism in the twenties and thirties. The **Action Francaise** (AF) soon had a rebirth, under its leader Charles Maurras, thanks to the financial patronage of the Catholic Church and a section of big business. The AF was mainly student-based and had a big following on the campuses, especially the Sorbonne, where it was "credited" with beating up Jewish Professors and stopping the lectures of one professor who

Charles Maurras

had the temerity to take some students to Germany to promote better understanding between the two nations. The AF sought to restore the monarchy and fought the "four evils"—Judaism, Protestanism, foreigners, and communism. Its vigorous attacks on some big Jewish and Protestant banking families in Paris and its inability to fight the workers caused the big bourgeoisie to cool to the AF and to look elsewhere for their Mussolini.

By 1933 Maurras had been around for 30 years and a new fascist face was needed. A Colonel de la Rocque of the **Croix de Feu** seemed to fit the bill in the early thirties, but there were other contenders, like leaders of the Young Patriots and Solidarite Francaise. Marcel Deat split from the Socialist Party in 1933 with 29 Parliamentary deputies to form a Neo-Socialist Party, saying that "The class war is nonsense," calling for "order, authority and nation." Also, one Jacques Doriot, a renegade from the Communist Party and its former leader in Parliament, formed a determined band of extreme anti-communists, called the **Parti Populaire Francaise.** Finally, the trotskyites in Alsace, the German-speaking province on the border of Germany, organized an out-and-out Nazi group, calling for unity with the "new Germany."

Jacques Doriot harangues crowd

On January 5, 1934 the famous Stavisky scandal broke in the press; three days later this swindler with friends in high places was found dead under mysterious circumstances. All the fascist groups seized upon the occasion to come out on the streets in violent demonstrations. The AF with the direct connivance of the fascist-minded chief of police, Chiappe, led hundreds of goons in violent demonstrations, even breaking up a Shakespeare play. On January 25, the "Radical" Chautemps government fell and a new "Radical" government under Daladier took power

Stavisky--alive and dead

with de la Rocque of the Croix as a minister. But after Daladier fired Chiappe, the fascists on February 6 mounted a massive demonstration of 100,000 led by Chiappe, the AF, Young Patriots, the Croix and others to storm the Chamber and institute a fascist government. The next day Daladier resigned and the police abandoned Paris to the fascist mobs; the leading Army generals were preparing a fascist coup, and it seemed that France was to be the next fascist state.

Under these urgent circumstances, the Communist Party of France (CPF) brought out its forces and fought first the fascists and then the police, who returned when it seemed the fascists were losing the upper hand. Six communists were killed in the streetfighting of February 9th. Finally, the Socialist Party (SP), which had stayed on the sidelines until now, joined the CPF in a massive general strike on February 12 that paralyzed France and thwarted a fascist takeover. A "national," but not fascist, government ranging from the Deat's Neo-Socialists on the Right to the "Radicals" on the Left, was formed. The war minister was Petain, a famous World War I general. The CPF correctly castigated the new government as a government of "assassins."

Six months later the Radical Party was driven out of the increasingly pro-fascist government. The next two years were a period of great polarization in French politics. On the one side, the fascist groups grew in numbers and boldness. The **Croix** attained 712,000 members, became a clear threat, and in December 1935 brazenly sacked the SP headquarters in Paris. The government, especially after Pierre Laval became a key figure in the fall of 1934, pushed a process of fascistization in the civilian bureaucracy and in the military officer corps. Again and again, the Laval government used the police to aid the fascist bands in the intermittent streetfighting between the **Croix** and the communists. In a budget crisis of June 1935 the Laval government decreed a 10 percent wage-cut; three workers were killed in the ensuing protests.

But it was the CPF and not the fascists who gained the upper hand in these two years. The experience of Germany taught the CPF to take fascism deadly seriously. They anticipated Dimitrov by a year and cemented their alliance with the SP. On July 27, 1934 the "unity of action" pact was signed between the SP and the CPF. After the Radicals were kicked out of the government, they adhered to the new Popular Front (PF). Whenever the Croix organized a parade or demonstration, the PF organized counter-demonstrations and tried to break up the fascist marches, often successfully. In July 1935 the major Croix mobilization of 30,000 was countered by a PF rally of 400,000. Soon it was clear that the PF was controlling the streets, not the fascists. Thus by early 1936 the bourgeoisie was forced to postpone its plan for fascism. The first sign of this was the military pact France signed with the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany. Secondly came the rapid decline of the **Croix** and the AF, and the increasing isolation of Deat and Doriot from the seats of power. Finally, came the electoral victory of the PF in April and May of 1936.

At the Congress of the Comintern in August 1935, the CPF had received much praise from Dimitrov in its application of the united front line. Certainly in the short run at least, they had successfully stopped the fascist advance. Yet the line of the CPF delegates, particularly Thorez, was so revisionist that it could not but pave the way for a strategic victory for fascism. A small sign of the times was that in the July 1935 demonstration the traditional red flags were left home and the CPF carried the tricolor flag of the French bourgeoisie. At the Congress, Thorez declared, concerning the united front pact:

> In order to conclude the pact, we had agreed to a concession in the manner of limiting criticisms. We subscribed to the following text: "During this common action, the two parties will reciprocally abstain from attacks and criticism of the bodies and functionaries loyally participating in the action. However, each party, outside the

Nights Work

In the engine room
you could not see too far
blue smoke hung leeching the air
workers coughed and swore
the ships supervisor laughed as he left the boat
He had just cut the blowers off
laughing
to test for "leaks" by sound
laughing
while workers coughed
he left the boat laughing.

Bruce Burns

joint action, retains its independence to develop its own propaganda without insulting or outraging the other Party, and to ensure its own recruitment of members."

In other words the communists would forsake the ideological struggle against social democracy and abandon the workers' struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead, the CPF would strive to be the best bourgeois democratic anti-fascists: "We do not intend to let fascism usurp the flag of the Great (bourgeois) Revolution, nor the Marseillaise, that hymn of the soldiers of the Convention."

This anti-Leninist line would lead to defeat in the end, but in the short run the CPF won a big electoral victory. The PF won 4,800,000 votes (1,500,000 for the CPF, which also won a majority of the seats from Paris), against 2,200,000 for the right-wing united front; the PF had a clear majority in Parliament (379 for the PF; 269 for the Right). The CPF at least did not actually accept ministerial posts in the PF government, but they participated in it on every other level, and thus share responsibility for this "anti-fascist" variety of bourgeois dictatorship. Apart from Leon Blum, the SP prime-minister, and a few new faces, the "new" PF government was basically a rehash of the tired old liberal politicians of the Radical Party. Hacks like Daladier and Chautemps were the key figures—while the increasingly fascist-minded military and civil service functionaries were continued in their posts.

The workers, however, unlike the CPF, were not satisfied with this paper "victory." On May 26 communists and militants on the factory level began a series of sit-in strikes, more massive than any seen to that time. By June 6, one million were on strike. The PF government tried to stop the strikes, was unable to and the main demands of the workers were acceded to:

1) the forty-hour work week was established;
2) paid holidays and collective bargaining were won;
3) wage raises of 50 to 95 percent were won;
4) the **Croix,** Young Patriots and **Solidarite Francaise** were outlawed;
5) Union membership went from 1,300,000 to 5,000,000.

The remaining term of the PF government was devoted to undoing the results of the sit-in strike and 2-1/2 years of anti-fascist struggle. The first step was the August 8 embargo on aid to the anti-fascist forces in Spain. The second step was the devaluation of the franc on September 25 which nullified the wage gain won in the spring. (A new series of sit-in strikes broke out in opposition to this measure, but they were crushed by the PF police.) Later in March 1937 six workers were killed by the PF police in Clichy. The CPF in all this found themselves in an impossible position. Communist leaders at the factory level were fighting this boss-offensive and fighting the PF government which sent police

Thorez and Blum

to protect capitalist interests, while the leadership of the CPF supported the PF government in Parliament and the CPF press never criticized the government that was oppressing the workers. The CPF sent some of its best cadre to volunteer in Spain and others to guide the Internationals from other countries across the frontiers, while the CPF-supported Popular Front police hounded and harassed these same anti-fascist fighters. It was an absurd position to be in: the leadership supporting the bosses, while the factory cadre led the workers. Only by abolishing class struggle could the muddle of the CPF be bridged. Disaster could only lie ahead.

But for the short term the CP made big gains. The combination of new national respectability and the old militance in the shops resulted in a remarkable increase in membership from 40,000 to 270,000, and an increase in the circulation of its paper from 120,000 to 350,000. But the main long-term effect was to give the bourgeoisie a breathing space, so that they could once again move toward fascism. The PF government was this breathing space and the CPF fell into the trap.

His usefulness at an end, Blum was ousted in June 1937, to be succeeded by Chautemps. However, the December 1937 suppression of yet another sit-in strike wave finally broke up the PF. In March 1938 Daladier took over a now frankly right-wing government that paved the way for the fascist takeover two years later. The one and one-half years of the PF had given the fascist-minded bourgeoisie an excellent respite after being buffeted by CP street victories in 1934-5 and the great sit-in strikes. Disgust with the PF was general by the time Daladier took over. The CPF was badly compromised and many of its best cadre were casualties either of the civil war in Spain or the industrial war in France. The growth in membership and circulation of the paper masked this fundamental weakness in the CPF: It was far less able to fight fascism in 1938 after the

PF than in 1934 when it fought the fascists alone. The CPF was ideologically and organizationally unprepared for the illegal existence it would have to face one and one-half years hence. Once solely the voice of the strivings of the working class, the CPF lost its bearings altogether in the CPF and drifted from class to class, toward defeat—unable even to match the efforts of the Spanish CP in rousing the working class to defeat fascism.

By now the **Croix,** AF, etc., were discarded as has-beens; Doriot and Deat seemed unable to get together any popular support even approaching the level of the Nazis or the Italian fascists. Therefore the bourgeoisie turned to the Daladier government itself as its main instrument for achieving fascism.

France had seemed, except for the socialist Soviet Union, in early 1936, the nation least endangered by fascism. In France, at least, the fascists had been clearly beaten. Two years of popular front government, however, so confused and demoralized anti-fascist forces, that in early 1938 France began a rapid two-year slide into the fascist abyss. The years 1938-1940 were marked internally by fascistization of the bureaucracy, repression of the working class and increasing anti-communism; externally, by capitulation to foreign fascist pressure. The Daladier government and the other big capitalist institutions lifted the tattered banners of Doriot, Deat and Maurras and themselves became the propagandists of fascism.

To the big Paris dailies goes the "honor" of winning the petty-bourgeoisie to fascism and dulling the anti-fascist instincts of the working class. The papers every day were filled with articles on the "wonders" of the "new Germany" or the "new Italy," the "weakness of Russia," the "barbarities" of the Spanish Republicans, the "unreliability" of anti-fascists in Czechoslovakia, the U.S. and Britain. They picked on the outstanding weaknesses of the PF governments to drive home their pro-fascist points. Shamelessly, they declared: "Better Hitler than Stalin"; "Better the Stresa Front* than the popular front." They preached the gospel of cowardly defeatism: "Don't get involved in Spain"; "Czechoslovakia is not worth fighting for"; "Don't die for Danzig."

The Daladier government was hardly a step behind the newspapers in its capitulation to fascist pressure. The conscious policy of Daladier to throttle the Spanish anti-fascists was unabashedly aimed at currying favor with Mussolini, with whom the French fascists incredibly hoped to ally against Hitler. (The military-aid pact with the Soviet Union was by now a dead letter.) At the Munich crisis Daladier shamefully surrendered Czechoslovakia to Hitler after "honest arbitration" by Mussolini. Finally, in November 1938 Daladier got the ultimate insult as an answer to his unrequited love of Mussolini. A well orchestrated Italian fascist demonstration demanded "Tunisia, Corsica, Nice." The first, a colony of France, the latter two, provinces on France bordering on Italy, were now demanded by Mussolini from the internationally contemptible, capitulationist government of Daladier.

The Comintern hit the nail on the head in its description of the Daladier government:

> They try to demoralize the masses with the vile and treacherous slogan: "Better slavery than war." But the people know that the imperialist robbers convert their slaves into cannon fodder for their wars of plunder. Slaves do not escape war; they have to fight on the side of their enslavers, who use them to throttle the independence of other nations.
>
> The British and French capitulators cherish the dream of diverting German fascism to the East. This is also called preservation of peace in the language of these gentlemen. But we know that the German fascists dislike impassable roads and insurmountable obstacles; they prefer to go where the going is easiest, where people capitulate to fascism.

How prophetically true! A little more than one year after these lines were written the Nazis marched into Paris.

The signing of the Munich pact in September 1938 was followed by an hysterical anti-communist campaign in France. Wage cuts followed; the 40 hour week was abolished. The CPF and the unions responded with a general strike in November 1938. The strike was crushed by Daladier; the CPF was now sinking fast. When the war with Germany broke out nine months later the CPF was outlawed (not the pro-German fascists!). Thousands of communists were thrown into concentration camps by the Daladier regime; many heads of the trade unions were likewise arbitrarily arrested.

The military leaders, still thinking "Better Hitler than Stalin," refused to organize a serious anti-Nazi war, while the politicians schemed how to turn the war against Germany into a war **with** Germany **against** Russia. A section of the ruling class, represented by Reynaud (who succeeded Daladier as prime minister in early 1940) and General de Gaulle, finally awakened to the national disaster that was about to befall France. But too late; the Nazi Army conquered demoralized France in forty days. On June 17, 1940 Marshall Petain organized a new government of national surrender and begged the Nazis for an armistice. The contrast between fighting Spain and surrendering France was striking. The responsibility for France's quick capitulation lies with the disastrous PF government and the right-wing errors of the CPF.

The armistice divided France in two. In the North and West, including Paris and the industrial belt, the German army was in occupation. There Deat headed the Rassemblement National Populaire which along with almost all of Daladier's former officials continued the bourgeois dictatorship under the protection of the German

*A diplomatic pact with Mussolini.

Army. Doriot headed up the French branch of the Gestapo. In unoccupied France, Petain headed a shadow government based in the town of Vichy. Pierre Laval was his prime minister and all the former military chiefs, Admiral Darlan, General Weygand, were key figures in the "new" France, an integral part of the "new order in Europe." All the old fascists from the Croix, even a mummy such as Maurras, and the AF flocked to the governments of Petain and Deat.

Execution of French collaborator, Aug. 1944

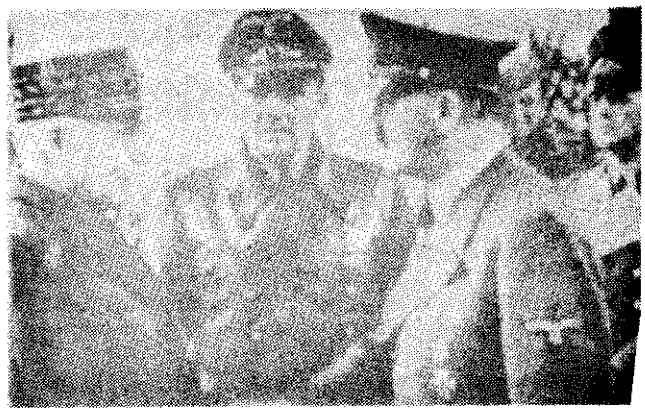
The new fascist France lost no time in proclaiming suitable anti-Semitic measures (October 18, 1940), in bringing Blum, Daladier and company up on charges of causing the war with Germany (!), in proclaiming a Mussolini-like corporate state; in promulgating forced labor for all between 18 and 50; in hunting down communists and banning labor unions. The edifice of Petain proclaimed "family, authority, nation," but underground another France, heirs of the French revolutionary tradition began a long and successful resistance. (See below, section IX.) The cost of fascism was heavy enough: 462,000 military dead, 38,000 prisoners murdered, 140,000 soldiers missing and never returned, 30,000 executions, another 188,000 civilians killed, plus a considerable amount of property destroyed.

It would be nice to report that the CPF learned the tragic lessons of the PF era, but this was not to be. The resistance which was led by the CPF counterposed to the fascist slogans of "family, authority and nation" the liberal slogans of "liberty, equality and fraternity." Nowhere was

Laval

socialism or the dictatorship of the proletariat mentioned. Not only the SP and Radical allies of old, but even conservative anti-German nationalists, were included in this new broader PF. Now, instead of Blum, the CPF rallied the working class around De Gaulle. (After the war, the CPF entered yet another united front government, this time headed by De Gaulle, with equally disastrous results for the CPF and the French working class movement. But that is another story.)

As for the fascists, quite a few got their just desserts; many like Doriot and Darlan were dealt with summarily by the working class in the course of struggle. Others like Laval were executed by the De Gaulle government under working class pressure. Some like Petain and Maurras because of their long service to the bourgeoisie received prison terms instead of death sentences. But the behind-the-scenes bosses who made up the French ruling class, were never harmed. After the war all factions — those who fled to Britain with De Gaulle, those who moved to Vichy with Petain, and the majority who stayed behind in Paris with the Nazis—were happily reunited in the Fourth (bourgeois) French Republic.



Petain (l.) and Hitler

V. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE FASCIST INTERNATIONAL - I

AUSTRIA AND CHINA

The fascist movement was world wide and fascists from different countries aided each other, as the experiences in Spain and France illustrates. This observation, however, often led to the mistaken belief that fascism was internationalist. Nothing could be further from the truth: Fascism is 100 percent **nationalist**—each fascist bourgeoisie looks out only for number one. The fascist experiences in Austria and China which will now be related, are clear examples of this principle.

The Austrian Christian-Social Party (CSP) was founded toward the end of the 19th Century by Dr. Karl Lueger, a fiery Jew-baiting demagogue. In 1895 the CSP grew enough to win control of the Vienna city council. Lueger even became mayor of Vienna until his death in 1910. The CSP was anti-Semitic and anti-Marxist, but after the Revolution of 1918 Vienna belonged to the Social Democrats and the CSP moved its base to the countryside.

Vienna was red, dominated by left-wing workers' and soldiers' councils, but in the rural provinces, Carinthia, Styria, Tyrol, **Frei Corps** similar to the German variety were formed by the CSP and others to prevent the revolution from spreading beyond Vienna, and to fight Yugoslav nationalists in the disputed border regions. These gangs were well-funded by Austrian industrialists.[10] The best organized was the Styrian Home Defense (Heimwehr) which had obtained even siege guns and airplanes, and was led by a local lawyer, Pfrimer; his units wore the swastika and carried the German flag in addition to the Styrian colors.

In Vienna, meanwhile, the Social Democrats (SDP) sold out the revolution in return for a few ministerial posts. Otto Bauer, leader of the SDP

Otto Bauer

shamelessly admitted this in a subsequent description of events in Vienna in 1918:

> There was deep ferment in the barracks of the people's army. The people's army felt that it was the bearer of the revolution, the vanguard of the proletariat.... The soldiers with arms in hand hoped for a victory of the proletariat.... "Dictatorship of the proletariat!" "All Power to the Soviets!" was all that could be heard in the streets...
>
> No bourgeois government could have coped with such a task. It would have been disarmed by the distrust and contempt of the masses. It would have been overthrown in a week by a street uprising and disarmed by its own soldiers.
>
> Only the Social Democrats could have safely handled such an unprecedentedly difficult situation, because they enjoyed the confidence of the working masses.... Only the Social Democrats could have stopped peacefully the stormy demonstrations by negotiation and persuasion. Only the Social Democrats could have guided the people's army and curbed the revolutionary adventures of the working masses.... The profound shake-up of the bourgeois social order was expressed in that a bourgeois government, a government without the participation in it of the Social Democrats, had simply become unthinkable. (Quoted by Dutt from Bauer's **The Austrian Revolution of 1918)**

Bauer became Foreign Minister in the government that sidetracked the revolution. But two years later with the workers subdued and disgusted, the bourgeoisie kicked Bauer and the other sellout artists out and installed a rightwing Christian Social cabinet. The SDP were allowed to control the Vienna city government, where they constructed some big apartment complexes for the workers—sort of a consolation prize.

The equilibrium between Red Vienna and an increasingly fascist countryside could not last long. In 1927 following the acquittal of a fascist who had murdered a worker, the Vienna working class burned down the Palace of "Justice." A general strike followed amid many clashes with police; ninety-five workers and five police were killed in the bitter streetfighting. Now the fascist Heimwehr units were brought into play and defeated the strikers in the countryside while the SDP traitors once again managed to cool down the Vienna situation.

The frightened bourgeoisie now poured money into the Heimwehr; the clergy gave it their blessings, the police and army provided information, arms and protection. Thousands of ex-officials, small farmers, professionals and landlords swelled the ranks of the Heimwehr. Mussolini sent 1,620,000 lire and numerous weapons to the Heimwehr. In 1929 the Heimwehr movement presented its demands to the government for a fascist corporate state. In 1930 all the local

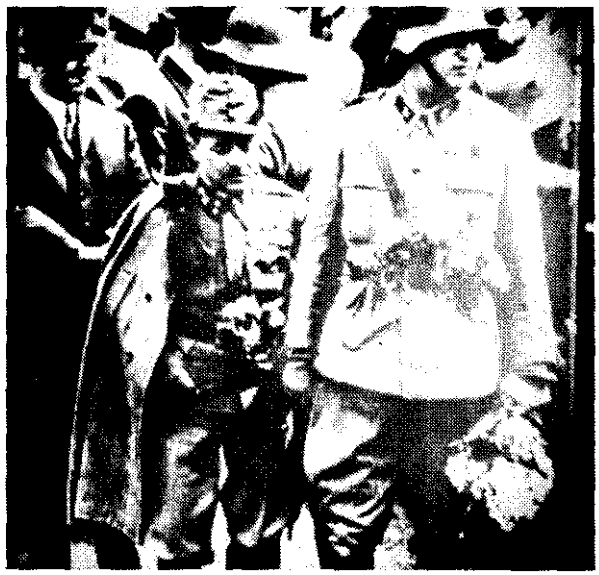
Heimwehr units were bound together by the so-called "Korneuburg Oath." One Prince Starhemberg was selected head of the Heimwehr and joined the cabinet in September 1930 as Minister of Interior, in control of the police.

But the mass base of fascism in Austria was suspect as the general elections of November 1930 approached. Pfrimer realized this early and felt the semi-fascist government should be replaced with a purely fascist one, and advocated a march on Vienna. However, Starhemberg insisted on a constitutional road to power and ran at the head of a Heimwehr election block. The result was a big electoral defeat for the Heimwehr which got only eight seats versus seventy two seats for the SDP (and 42 percent of the vote). But with the government already honeycombed with fascists, the SDP election victory was given far more significance than was warranted by the SDP publicists:

> Democracy has inflicted a crushing defeat on the Heimwehr and its promoters... The Heimwehr movement, which until recently believed itself to be on the eve of the final victory, is in a state of rapid decline ...The purely political problems have ended with the complete victory of the working class.

This was a big illusion, as the events of September 1931 proved. Without waiting for Starhemberg any longer, Pfrimer launched a coup. Entirely successful in Styria, the putsch was dispersed only because the main body of the Hemwehr opposed Pfrimer. Pfrimer and his cohorts were then put on trial, but soon acquitted by jurymen who gave them the fascist salute. Nevertheless, the split in the Heimwehr became permanent; Pfrimer and his group quit the Heimwehr and joined the hitherto small Austrian Nazi party. Henceforth, Austria had two powerful fascist movements: the pro-German pagan Nazi Party under Pfrimer, and the pro-Italian Catholic Heimwehr under Starhemberg; also there was a semi-fascist Christian Social central government in power, after 1933 headed by Dollfuss. The odd wheel on the Austrian cart was the Vienna city government, still under the SDP control. Only the revisionists, blinded by electoral cretinism, could not foresee the next act: elimination of the SDP.

Actually, Mussolini was far more worried about the Nazis than the cowardly Social Democrats. But he suggested to Dollfuss in an August 1933 meeting that the Christian Socials and the Heimwehr in alliance could steal a march on the Nazis by wiping out the SDP and proclaiming a fascist state. Dollfuss hesitated, but in early 1934 the Nazis were obviously ready to take action on their own. So in February 1934 after innumerable unbearable fascist acts of aggression, the workers in Vienna were provoked into launching an uprising to which the SDP leaders refused to give fighting leadership and the revolution was easily



Dollfuss & von Starhemberg

drowned in blood by the Heimwehr. The SDP and the trade-unions were banned (the small but fighting Austrian CP had already been outlawed), and an authoritarian state proclaimed. Dutt gives a fitting epilogue to the "peaceful road to socialism" of the SDP. The description is of the beautiful workers' apartment buildings the SDP constructed in Vienna:

> The Russian journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, has related how in 1928 he visited these municipal buildings in all their glory, conducted by a proud representative of Social Democracy. He admired these buildings, their planning, their construction, their beauty, their organisation, even though he could not fail to see alongside the playing fountain in the beautiful garden an unemployed worker, weak with hunger. But he asked his guide: "You have indeed constructed wonderful houses .... But have you not the feeling that these houses are built on the land of another? Has not the example of our country taught that the worker must pay with his blood for every foot of ground that he conquers? We had to destroy much—to destroy in order after victory to construct. You have begun, not with the machine-gun; but with the compass and the rule. With what will you end?" His companion smiled and replied: "We shall end with the pacific victory of socialism. Do not forget that at the last elections seventy percent of the population of Vienna voted for us." That was in 1928. In February 1934, Ilya Ehrenburg revisited these buildings. He saw the battered walls, the gaping holes, the debris under which people said corpses still lay, the trembling, cowering women and children, hunger and misery, and the flags of the Heimwehr flying from the towers. He had witnessed the "pacific victory" of

socialism.

Instead of the peaceful victory of socialism, there occurred the bloody victory of the Heimwehr. But now the Heimwehr Christian Social fascists had to deal with the Nazis, whose inclinations were not so peaceful as the SDP. On July 25, 1934 Dollfuss was assassinated by the Nazis. A Nazi coup was, however, foiled at this time, and Dollfuss was succeeded by his disciple Schuschnigg. But the Nazi-Heimwehr struggle was to occupy the rest of the history of independent Austria.

The struggle between the Heimwehr fascists led by Schuschnigg and Starhemberg and the Nazi fascists led first by Pfrimer then by Seyss-Inquart, another lawyer but from Vienna, not Styria, was basically a struggle between the Italian fascists and the German fascists. In the period of 1934-1936 there was no great love between Hitler and Mussolini; indeed Mussolini was actively trying to influence Britain and France in an anti-Nazi military expedition. Austria, Hungary and Italy signed a fascist pact in Rome in March 17, 1934—a pact from which Nazi Germany was pointedly excluded. But the anti-fascist tide in Spain and France in 1934-1936 frightened both Hitler and Mussolini and drove the two fascist chieftains together. Fascist Austria was Mussolini's gift to Hitler in return for the Axis pact linking the two fascist powers. The year 1936 was the turning point. As late as March the Rome pact with Austria was reaffirmed but in July, after the start of the Spanish Civil War, a new agreement between Austria and Germany was reached, in which the former pledged to behave as a "German state," and all Nazi political prisoners were released. Mussolini gave Hitler the green light to do what he would in Austria.

In 1937 the Austrian Nazis began anew their campaign of terror and bombings to bring down the Heimwehr government. The Nazis employed a three-pronged offensive to destroy the Heimwehr fascists. First a Nazi terroristic underground; secondly, a legal Nazi opposition led by Seyss-Inquart, finally brutal diplomatic and military pressure from Germany itself. The combination brought the Heimwehr fascists to total humiliation within months. On February 12, 1938 Schuschnigg was summoned to Hitler's villa at Berchtesgaden and bullied into signing an agreement that (1) lifted all restrictions on the Nazis; (2) amnestied all Nazi terrorists; (3) appointed Seyss-Inquart as minister of interior in charge of police; (4) appointed another Nazi minister of war and established measures to integrate the Austrian and German armies; (5) appointed another Nazi finance minister with orders to integrate the two economies.

Seyss-Inquart gets Nazi salute

The ground was now prepared for the final destruction of the Heimwehr and the end of the independent Austrian capitalist class. In the events of 1934 they had wiped out the SDP, their most valuable ally, crushed the working class, the only reliable anti-Nazi force. Now the capitalists were defenseless against their German big "brothers." February 24, 1938, Schuschnigg tried to appeal to Austrian patriotism, but in Graz a mobilization of 20,000 Nazis, backed by Seyss-Inquart's police hauled down the Austrian flag and raised the Nazi colors. March 4, in a desperate move, Schuschnigg released SDP leaders from prison, who cravenly agreed to defend their Heimwehr tormentors against the Nazi "greater evil," but too late. Hundreds of German officers entered Austria to take command of the Austrian Nazis. March 11-13, Schuschnigg resigned, appointing Seyss-Inquart as his successor; with the Nazi mobs controlling the streets, the Panzer Divisions crossed the frontier. On March 14, Hitler entered Vienna in triumph; Schuschnigg was thrown into a concentration camp; some 79,000 other "unreliables" were arrested in Vienna alone. A month later a "referendum" recorded 99 3/4 percent for full merger of Austria into "Greater Germany."

The Austrian capitalist class, which was largely Jewish, was in the main expropriated. The leading capitalist Rothschild bought his way out of Vienna by turning over his steel mills to Goring. The wealthiest half of Vienna's 180,000 Jews bought their way to Palestine in a similar manner, while the other 90,000 were murdered by the Nazis in the course of the war. Schuschnigg spent the war in a Nazi concentration camp, eventually rescued by U.S. troops. Seyss-Inquart later became Hitler's Gauleiter in the Netherlands where he massed a bloody record. He was hanged at Nuremburg.

The events in tiny Austria were mirrored in China, the largest country in the world—but with a different outcome. In China, as in Austria, the fascist Kuomingtang (KMT) came to power to suppress a massive workers' movement. Also in China it was the rightwing errors of the Communist Party (CPC) that opened the doors to fascism. The CPC had joined in a united-front,

indeed, in a united government, with the KMT to fight the northern warlords in the early twenties. Like in Austria, the fight among the fascist cliques represented a fight between imperialists for control of China. The KMT was backed by the U.S. and British imperialists, while the northern warlords and later the Manchukuo and Wang-Ching-Wei cliques represented the interests of fascist Japan.

With the temporary defeat of the Japanese stooges in the 1925-1927 fighting, the alliance of Chinese capitalists represented by T.V. Soong, the CC clique and the Whampoa clique, and their U.S. and British backers, turned on its communist allies. The KMT's Green Gang with $10 million in payments from Shanghai businessmen, attacked the communists in Shanghai (thousands were executed), Nanking, and Canton in April 1927.[11]

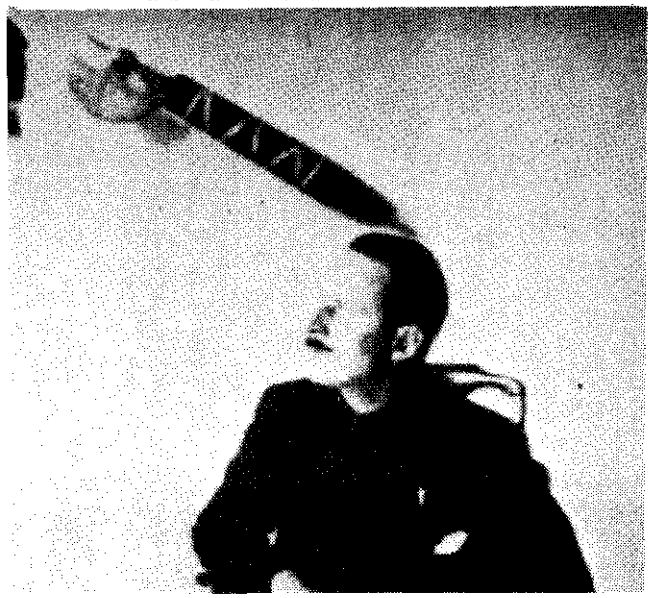
In the next few months in Wuhan, Changsha and other areas not under Japanese control, the CPC was almost annihilated. Later, rivalry between the KMT fascists, now seemingly all-powerful, and the Japanese fascists, eventually led to all-out war. But here the similarity with the Austrian experience ends.

For the CPC never gave up. The underground was painfully reconstituted. In 1931 the General Secretary of the CPC and the head of Party security were arrested and shot in Shanghai; 4700 other communists were arrested there at that time. In the next two years three successive Party leaders in Shanghai were executed by the KMT. But eventually a secure organization was built in Shanghai and other cities.

In the countryside a Red army was slowly built that eventually controlled many rural areas. In the winter of 1930 the KMT sent 100,000 troops to "mop-up" the Red Army; the KMT was instead mopped up. In February 1931 the KMT sent 200,000 fascist troops against the communists in vain. In the summer of 1931 300,000 KMT troops participated in the third "final annihilation" drive against the liberated zones. Fourth and fifth drives in 1933 and 1934 involving 1,000,000 fascist troops were unable to annihilate the CPC or prevent the Red Army from growing.

Crucial to these events the CPC had liquidated its disastrous revisionist line of cooperation with the KMT. From 1927 to 1934 an ideological battle was fought within the Party which was more consequential than the military battles that were going on at the same time. The resulting victory of the revolutionary wing of the Party, represented by Mao Tse-tung, was the key to the eventual defeat of fascism in China and the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1949.

It was the revolutionary line and the fighting strength of the CPC that prevented China from being devoured by the Japanese fascists the way that Austria was devoured by the German fascists. The KMT was content to play the role of the Heimwehr, unable to defeat fascism with fascism. The Chinese experience proves by positive example what the Austrian experience indicates by negative example—only communism can defeat fascism. The world communist movement in the thirties increasingly learned from the Chinese CP in its fighting attitude toward fascism. Fascism could be beaten if only communists would cast away illusions about liberals and "lesser-evils." Placing themselves at the head of the anti-fascist working class, the communists could wipe out the fascist dogs. This was the lesson of China on a grand scale; it was also the lesson of Britain on a smaller scale.



Mosley (r.)--Note fasces on wall

VI. FASCISM HALTED IN BRITAIN

The fascist success in Italy inspired a great number of would-be imitators in Britain. There was the Fascist League, the British National Fascists, the Imperial Fascist League and the British Fascists. These groups enjoyed a flourishing existence in 1924-1926; they played a part in breaking the 1926 British general strike. These were founded and funded by the aristocracy or displaced colonial viceroys and there were plenty on the extreme right of the Conservative Party who were attracted by these fascist groups. But the leadership was weak and after the defeat of the working class in the industrial battles of the mid-twenties, the bourgeoisie defunded the fascists and the movement appeared to be heading for oblivion. However, the depression threw forth a new fuhrer for Britain and money once again flowed to fascism in the period after 1931.

The would-be "fuhrer" was Sir Oswald Mosley. A typical British snob, he was proud to trace his ancestry through 400 years of landed aristocrats. He married into Lord Curzon's family in a gala affair in 1920, attended by the King and Queen. Mosley was the youngest MP in Parliament in his day and astounded high society by

joining the Labor Party in 1924 and becoming a minister in the "Labor" government of 1929. It was symptomatic of the Labor Party's degeneration that an upper class playboy could be elected to the Party Executive as he was in 1930. But Mosley soon tired of the Labor Party; he had got into some feuds with some of the trade-union bureaucrats. So in late 1930 he formed his own group of fascist-minded Labor MP's. They were first the "modern movement" within the Labor Party, then the "New Party" in 1931, and after a visit with Mussolini in Italy and Nazi chieftains in Germany, Mosley formed the British Union of Fascists (BUF) in 1932, merging into his movement the remnants of the fascist groups

The BUF lost no time getting into the swing of things. The year 1933 was marked by numerous street battles with communists and other anti-fascists, the violent crushing of all dissident fascists, another pilgrimage by Mosley to Mussolini's side, a march of 1000 fascists in London, the founding of a "Black House" in a former college manned by 500 "Blackshirts," the organizing of an elite "I" goon squad, and the collection of vast amounts of money from the upper class.[12]

The year 1934 was a critical year all over the world in the struggle between communism and fascism as we have seen. In China the CPC facing the heaviest fascist attacks began their long march; in Spain the miners in Asturias rebelled; fascists were running wild in France; Hitler's "night of the long knives" consolidated fascism in Germany; the Heimwehr took power in Austria, etc. To much of the British ruling class, the historical choice between fascism and communism seemed imminent in Britain itself. Lord Rothmere, the press magnate owner of the **Daily Mail** and the **Evening News,** two of the biggest papers in Britain, called in editorials, ads and articles for Mosley's immediate accession to power. According to the **Daily Mail,** Italy and Germany were the "best governed nations in Europe."

Cover of 1936 British Communist pamphlet: 'Fight Fascism'

The paper also sponsored a contest on "Why I Like the Blackshirts" with free tickets to BUF rallies as the prizes. The money poured into Mosley. A "January Club" of 200 of the very top ruling class magnates met on a monthly basis with Mosley. In April 1934 there was a monster BUF rally of 10,000.[13]

The Communist Party of Britain was small but attuned to the negative experience of Communists in Germany and Italy. The CP immediately battled the fascists at every opportunity. In the provinces fascists would arrive by truckloads at a town or suburb only to be met by communist-led workers. Violent street battles followed, some won by fascists, some by communists, but no myth of invincibility was to be built around the BUF. On May 15, 1934 the CP led a march of 10,000 on the Olympia Hall in London where Mosley was haranguing 15,000 fascists. Inside the hall CP members courageously heckled Mosley despite some severe beatings by the fascist goon squads—soon the fascist meeting developed into melee and only the presence of 760 cops saved Mosley from a disaster. In September in Hyde Park, in October in Manchester, and later in Plymouth the CP organized attacks on the BUF, with bloody street battles resulting in all cases. Mosley was slowed down; Lord Rothmere and his ruling class friends cooled to the BUF before the year was up.

At the end of 1934 BUF membership stood at 20,000 but the fascists could not beat the communists in the streets. Under these circumstances the ruling class in Britain lost faith in Mosley and his cohorts. In 1936 the BUF tried a comeback, launching a vicious anti-Semitic campaign in London's East End. The CP moved in with a counter-campaign. All the protection of the police could not prevent the BUF defeat. On October 5, 1936, 50,000 workers led by the CP stopped a march of 3000 fascists despite the backing of 6000 police. Mosley was finished politically;

he hastened off to Germany, but all the pep talks and decorations from Hitler and Goebbels could not put Mosley back together again. In 1937 the declining BUF suffered more defeats from the CP.[14]

Despite the external policy of the British ruling class to appease and accommodate international fascism in 1938-1940, the internal Mosley fascists could not get their act together again. In the face of the impending World War II they became pacifists shouting "Don't die for Danzig!"* But the British working class, led by a courageous and militant CP, stopped British fascism and prevented their drive for power. In May 1940 their ruling class friends abandoned the BUF altogether—1200 fascists including Mosley were arrested and many were interned for the duration of the war.

In France during World War II communists were interned and pro-German fascists allowed on the loose. In Britain, the opposite occurred. The reason has much to do with the different tactics pursued by the two communist parties. In France the communist-sponsored Popular Front took the battle against fascism out of the streets and factories and put it into the halls of parliament. In Britain the battle against fascism was fought only in the streets and factories.

The CP of Britain grew in numbers and prestige from this struggle. Although they were unable to break the stronghold of the Labor Party on the majority of trade-unions, the communists played an increasingly important role in Britain —a little boldness and militancy can go a long way.

Neither in Canada, the U.S., nor in Mexico, were the fascist movements as significant as in Europe, Asia and South America. But in these three nations, the thirties was a period of great centralization of the national bureaucracy and of increased repression by the police organs. The U.S. did not even have a significant national police force until well into the thirties, but then the FBI gained vast new powers and began to shift its emphasis from fighting gangsters to fighting "subversion." In Canada the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) had been around longer than the FBI, but had not been very significant. However, in the mid-thirties the RCMP was invested with national police and anti-union powers. The RCMP shot down striking workers in Regina in 1935. In the North American nations the governments were unprepared for fascism since large powers were still vested in the states and provinces and a strong national bureaucracy was not developed until the thirties. The role of the New Deal in the U.S. was to centralize huge powers in a growing national bureaucracy, thus making fascism possible. In Canada and Mexico there were similar developments.

A unique characteristic of the fascist development in the U.S. and Canada was that local pre-fascist or semi-fascist governments existed in some of the states, provinces or counties while the national government was in the hands of liberals. The Duplessis regime in Quebec was an out-and-out pro-fascist dictatorship that lasted until 1959. Duplessis, a great supporter of Franco, backed by the Catholic Church and big business, set up a quasi-police state in the province. Any worker suspected of propagating communism was seized and imprisoned under the notorious Padlock Law. The Huey Long dictatorship in Louisiana was cut from similar cloth, with Long's personally loyal state police playing the role of storm-troopers for Long's big business bosses. All parish self-government in Louisiana was effectively abolished and the Long-controlled national guard was posted permanently in New Orleans. Long was assassinated before his fascist "Share-the-Wealth" movement went national. In many rural counties of California and the South, vigilante terrorist squads operated with impunity against black people, particularly farmworkers and trade-union organizers, and especially communists. These vigilantes became de facto the local government.

Despite these local imitations of European fascism and despite a host of would-be fuhrers—like Father Coughlin, who was inspired by Dollfuss; or Townsend, the old folks' Mussolini; or Gerald L.K. Smith, Huey Long's Hitler-loving successor—and despite a number of U.S.-bred storm-trooper brigades, the perennial Ku Klux Klan, the pro-Mussolini Khaki Shirts, Harry Jung's American Vigilantes, fascism was never able to succeed in the thirties in North America. There were a number of reasons: (1) the undeveloped, as yet, national police forces could not handle all the tasks that a fascist government would require; (2) the local governments had not yet been rendered powerless by the federals; (3) capitalism was still expanding in North America and was still relatively competitive compared with Europe; (4) U.S. imperialism had been the chief beneficiary of World War I and was still able to live off its imperialist loot; some of this also spilled over into Canada.

A fifth important and probably crucial reason was the the communist and left-led labor movement was on the offensive in the thirties in Canada, the U.S. and Mexico. This full-scale offensive not only smashed the would-be Hitlers like Art Smith, whose Khaki Shirts were physically wiped out by the CP in a 1933 action, but went on to establish the CIO in the main basic industries of North America. The great upsurge resulted in the winning of the eight hour day and many other historic gains for the working class—this in the teeth of the Great Depression. The North American CIO organizing drive which put the working class on the offensive through 1940 had its counterpart in the radical reform movement in Mexico during the administration of Cardenas.

At any rate, fascism was thoroughly halted in Britain, Canada, the U.S. and Mexico, as well as in a few other nations under the control of U.S. or British imperialism (Australia, New Zealand, Columbia and Venezuela).

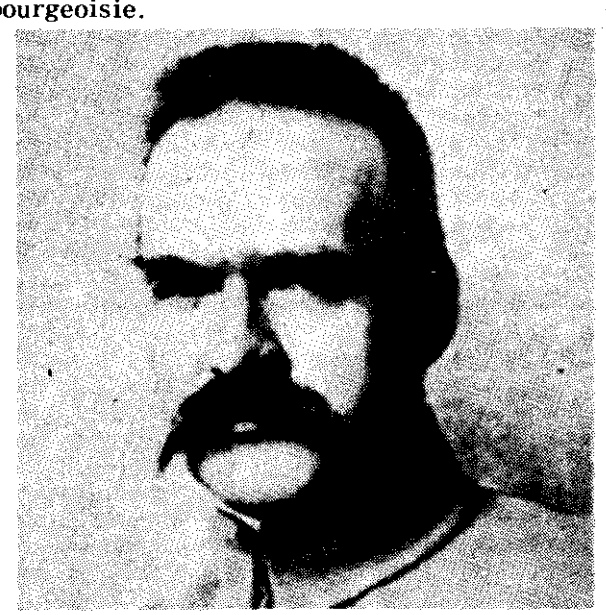
*The latest target for Hitlerite expansionism

VII. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE FASCIST "IN-NATIONAL" - II

POLAND AND RUMANIA

The anti-fascist offensive of the working class in the late thirties, led by communists, which halted fascism in Britain and the U.S., and delayed fascism in Spain and France, was too weakly reflected in Eastern Europe to prevent new gains for fascism in that region. The weakness of British and French bourgeois democracy, the apparent strength of German and Italian fascism, and the close proximity of socialist USSR, that bastion of world revolution, led the bourgeoisies of the various East European countries to abandon their half-hearted attempts at liberalism and to opt for fascism. The national bourgeoisies' preference for fascism showed suicidal tendencies in two Eastern European nations, Poland and Rumania. In both cases the bourgeoisie preferred to be swallowed by foreign fascism than to ally with the Soviet Union on an equal basis—thus proving once again that in the contradiction of the national bourgeoisie between its nationalist tendencies and its bourgeois tendencies, the bourgeois aspect is primary. **That is, the national bourgeoisie will always sell the nation into slavery before allying with revolutionary communists.**

In 1920-21 with the direct aid of British and French imperialism the Polish bourgeoisie led by their hero Pilsudski defeated the forces of revolutionary Communism, represented by the outlawed Polish Communist Party and the Red Army of the Soviet Union. An imperialist peace was dictated by Lord Curzon of Britain, who imposed a border between the USSR and Poland that put millions of ethnic Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians under the yoke of the racist Polish bourgeoisie.



Pilsudski

From 1921 to 1935, when the finishing touches were put on the fascist state, Polish politics in Warsaw, the capital, were a dreary merry-go-round of conservative landlords masquerading as "National Democrats" and fascist minions of Pilsudski masquerading as "Popular Socialists" who traded the scepter of government back and forth. The Pilsudski fascists were generally one up on the "National Democrats" since whenever they tired of debate in the bogus Parliament (the Sejm), they instituted military rule, first in May 1926 and then in early 1930.

Outside the hallowed halls of the Sejm, fascism was a constant. The communists were outlawed; the trade-unions, even under reformist leadership, were severely fettered. Jews were subject to periodic pogroms and economic boycotts. The universities were centers of fascist filth. The Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian peasantry in the East suffered constant military raids and oppressive taxation; genuine peasant parties or leagues were outlawed. Over half of the population of Poland was not Polish and had no rights, nor did the Polish working class. Only a small group of Polish landlords and small capitalists were given any consideration by the bourgeoisie. But even this state of affairs was not tight enough for the big capitalists, who from 1930 to 1935 began the process of installing a full-scale fascist regime in Poland.

There was no mass popular base for Polish fascism even among the petty-bourgeoisie, so fascism in Poland was entirely a top-down thing. Step One: Pilsudski returns to power in August 1930 and stagemanages the elections in November of that year. Step Two: March 1932—the rubber stamp Sejm gives Pilsudski decree powers which he uses to ban strikes, to outlaw all other opposition parties (the CP was already illegal), and to end the pretense of an independent judiciary. Step Three: 1933—formation of a "Youth Legion" of storm-trooper types to beat up Jews, Communists and trade-union organizers. Step Four: Improved relations with the Nazis: first a September 1933 treaty with the "Free City" of Danzig under Nazi control; then a January 1934 treaty with Nazi Germany. Step Five: April 1935—a new constitution ending all elections and setting up a "corporate state." Soon after the full-scale triumph of fascism in Poland, Pilsudski dropped dead (May 1935) to be succeeded by a clique of fascist nonentities—General Smigly-Rydz, Col. Koc, General Skwarczynski. Power in the foreign ministry was in the hands of Col. Beck. This gang of colonels and generals proved capable only of leading the nation to unprecedented disaster, much like the Greek colonels a genera tion later.

In the meantime, the clandestine Communist Party of Poland fought back. Starting in 1936 the CP organized a series of large-scale strikes in the cities. In the countryside peasant strikes and anti-government actions of a militant scale erupted—especially strong among the super-exploited peasantry of the Ukraine and of Bye-

Smigly-Rydz

lorussia. Things reached a head in 1937 when the fascist military government organized brutal sanguinary campaigns to rape, pillage and butcher the rebellious peasants. In 1937-1938 a wild series of pogroms against Jews in the cities were organized by the government clique and its "Union of Young Poland," resulting in serious casualties to the Polish Jews.

As early as 1935 concentration camps were organized throughout Poland. An especially sadistic Col. Kostek-Biiernacki was in charge of the beatings and tortures that went on in these camps, anticipating Nazi efforts by a few years. The camps were filled with communists, social democrats, trade-unionists, conservative journalists guilty of "disrespectful remarks," and Jews guilty of "economic crimes." Membership in the Communist Party was punishable by five years in a concentration camp. Squads of brown-shirted, jack-booted, Nazi-style saluting police roamed the streets of Poland while the government babbled about an even "greater" Poland, stretching from the Oder River (in Germany) to Pskov, deep inside the Soviet Union.

Despite these bombastic territorial demands on Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, the Polish fascists wisely made their first move against tiny Lithuania to the north, which was forced to accept Polish demands on March 19, 1938. When the Nazis made demands on Czechoslovakia later in the year, the Polish fascists chimed in, demanding the Teschen area. Then, as Nazi Germans occupied the Sudetenland of Czechoslovokia the Polish troops joined them and seized 400 square miles of Czech territory around Teschen (October 2, 1938). In conjunction with fascist Hungary, the Polish fascists made further demands on the entire Slovokian region, but were frustrated by the Nazis who had other plans in mind both for the rump of Czechoslovakia and for Poland itself.

Like the French fascists, the Polish fascists looked to Mussolini's Italy as their savior from Hitler. When the Italian foreign minister visited Poland at the end of February 1939, pro-Italian (and implicitly anti-German) demonstrations were organized and the Polish fascists incredibly put forward the demand for colonies in Africa, at the expense of Britain and France.

But time was running out for the colonels. In March there began the Nazi demands on Poland, followed in April by the denunciation on the part of Hitler of his pact with Poland, and in the summer the sending of Nazi troops to Danzig. The Polish fascists even at this late date refused several offers of help from the USSR (see below IX), trusting their new friends in Britain and France. (The demand for African colonies was dropped.) On September 1, 1939 Nazi troops crossed the frontier and within a month wiped out the Polish army and the Polish state—not a whit of help came from the colonels' "friends" in Britain, France or Italy. The USSR had no intention at this point of helping the self-isolated Polish fascists, whose historical role was finished, but the Red Army moved its forces swiftly into Eastern Poland (where the population was predominantly Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Jewish) in a successful mission to save millions of peasants and workers from the Nazis.

The Nazis dismantled the independent Polish state and suppressed the Polish national bourgeoisie. The Polish provinces of Posen, Upper Silesia, Teschen, Pomerania, Lodz, Cienchanow, Suwalki and Bialystok were incorporated into "Greater Germany" and cleared of Poles and Jews. In the rest of Poland a governor-general under Hans Frank ruled with Nazi brutality exceeded only in occupied Russia. Some 6,028,000 civilians were massacred by the Nazis in Poland in the course of the war, including virtually all of the Polish Jews. Warsaw and other cities were almost 100 percent leveled. In all this much thanks is due to the Polish fascists who blindly paved the road for their Nazi successors. On the bright side, however, the Polish national bourgeoisie, which spawned Polish fascism, was largely wiped out during the war, and surviving workers and peasants led by communists were in a good position to build a socialist Poland after the war.

Since fascism is in large measure nationalism run wild, it is not surprising that neighboring fascist states could not live in peace, once they had rid themselves of the communists. Thus there was nothing the fascist cliques in Poland and Austria could do to appease Hitler but commit suicide, which is what they ended up doing.

The same situation obtained between Hungary and Rumania. In Rumania a bewildering series of fascist groups competed both for power and for the favor of Nazi Germany against the neighboring fascist states of Hungary and Bulgaria.

The Rumanian bourgeoisie had historically close ties with the Russian bourgeoisie, so

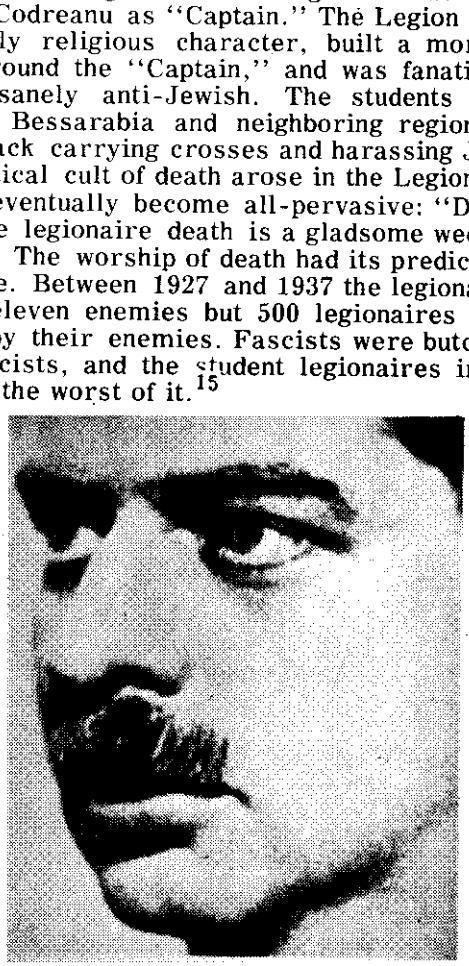
Rumania entered World War I on the side of Russia and the Allies. Although the weak Rumanian Army was destroyed on the field, the grateful allies gave Rumania vast tracts of Hungarian and Russian territory as a reward. Rumania joined the anti-Bolshevik crusade after the Revolution of 1917, and with French help managed to conquer the region of Bessarabia with its "non-Rumanian" majority of Jews and Moldavians. This contradiction brought the subject of racism to the fore in Rumanian politics. A second contradiction lay in the weakness of the Rumanian bourgeoisie which had lost many key positions in the trades and professions to Jews, and a third lay with Hungary. Although the Rumanian Army was key in squashing the Hungarian Soviet revolution in 1919 and in installing the fascist regime of Horthy, the Hungarian bourgeoisie showed no gratitude and demanded the return of Transylvania with its Hungarian majority. For the Rumanian fascists, however, the settling of accounts with Jews and Communists came first—then they would take on the Hungarians.

Given the situation, it is not surprising that the fascist movement got its start among vile anti-Semitic university students at Iasi. The University of Iasi was located very close to both the "non-Rumanian" territories of Transylvania and Bessarabia, and over one-third of the student body was Jewish. Thus the contradictions that would give rise to fascism (and subsequently destroy its authors) were present in a most concentrated form at the University of Iasi. There a professor of political economy, A.C. Cuza, a veteran Jew-baiter, had founded in 1909 a nationalist anti-Semitic party with the swastika as its symbol. He was joined in 1919 by a new student Corneliu Codreanu who earlier as a secondary student had organized his schoolmates to fight striking workers.

In fact, the years of 1919-1921 were years of great turbulence as the working class fought the government intervention against revolution in Hungary and Russia. There were strikes of a nature not before seen in Rumania. In 1921 the new-born Communist Party was outlawed. Since the inexperienced CP was never able to overcome the government suppression, the field was left open to fascism. But the working class itself was never attracted to fascism, and Rumanian fascism was always a movement of students and middle-class people.

While Cuza spewed forth his racist filth from the lecturn, Codreanu formed anti-Communist fighting squads to beat up communists, Jews and liberals in the University. By 1921 Codreanu was president of the student association. In 1922 he organized a general strike of students against the liberal government's plan of giving citizenship to Jews. Next year Cuza and Codreanu's father formed the League of Christian and National Defense, a frankly fascist group with which the younger Codreanu worked for a time.

But the activist young Codreanu was never satisfied with the elevated style of the professor Cuza. Despite some electoral success (ten parliament seats) the League was moving too slowly for him. So in 1927 Codreanu formed his own group, the Legion of Archangel Michael with young Codreanu as "Captain." The Legion had a fervently religious character, built a moronic cult around the "Captain," and was fanatically and insanely anti-Jewish. The students rode around Bessarabia and neighboring regions on horseback carrying crosses and harassing Jews. A mystical cult of death arose in the Legion that would eventually become all-pervasive: "Death, only the legionaire death is a gladsome wedding force." The worship of death had its predictable outcome. Between 1927 and 1937 the legionaires killed eleven enemies but 500 legionaires were killed by their enemies. Fascists were butchering fascists, and the student legionaires in the end got the worst of it.[15]



King Carol of Rumania

In 1930 Carol II became King of Rumania and in short order began to fashion his own fascist regime. The king lined up Cuza, some miscellaneous fascists, and his own youth organization to counter the influence of the Legion. Meanwhile, a mass organization, the Iron Guard, was formed by Codreanu to complement his Legion. A tacit alliance between Carol and Codreanu to finish off liberalism marked the period 1933-1937. This was the hey day of the Legion and Codreanu, who now attracted vast sums from big business, rich aristocrats and even Jewish financiers.[16] Codreanu had his "Green Shirts" (modeled after Mussolini's "Black Shirts" in Italy), a Green House after Mosely's "Black House" in Britain, and Death Commandoes modeled after Hitler's SS. There were 34,000 "nests" or cells of the Iron Guard by the end of 1937, and two big Bucharest dailies put themselves at Codreanu's disposal. In the elections of 1937 the Iron Guard gained 500,000 votes (16 percent) and 66 seats in Parliament.

In December 1937 the fascist poet and crony of Cuza, Goga, became prime minister, with at least tacit Legion support. Goga instituted anti-Jewish laws at least as harsh as those in effect at the time in Nazi Germany. These extreme racist laws were so unpopular the Legion as principal author lost support. Now Carol was ready to move against the Legion. In early 1938 a series of moves were made to enforce a personal dictatorship including the ending of all elections, setting up the familiar fascist corporate state, and arresting thousands of Legionaires, including Codreanu, The extreme racist laws were rescinded.

The struggle between the King Carol fascist clique and the Codreanu fascist clique was a struggle between the pro-British section of the bourgeoisie which favored Carol and the pro-German section of the bourgeoisie which favored Codreanu. The British section had the upper hand in 1938-39.

In November 1938 Codreanu was murdered in prison on Carol's orders. Carol's prime minister was assassinated by the Legionaires in revenge in 1939 and Carol had 1300 Legionaires butchered between April and December of that year as further revenge.

But unfavorable external events spelled the end for Carol and his pro-British clique. In June 1940 the Soviet Union had had enough fascist butchery and oppression of Jews and Moldavians; they ordered the fascists out of Bessarabia and liberated the territory. The fascists dared not resist. In September 1940 the Nazis awarded Transylvania to Hungary and another smaller region of Rumania to Bulgaria. Carol's British friends were in no position to help him and the fascist king left Rumania in disgrace.

General Antonescu became the new leader and proclaimed a National Legion State in conjunction with survivors of the Iron Guard. Pogroms of Jews and a wholesale butchery of King Carol's entourage followed in the rump Rumanian state. But once again the Legion overplayed its hand, and the ghastly tortures and murders, not so much of communists or Jews, but of prominent bourgeois figures, cost the Legion much support. Antonescu went to Berlin to get the Fuhrer's advice in early 1941. Hitler advised Antonescu to deal with the Legion as the Nazis did with the S.A. in 1934. In January 1941 Antonescu wiped out the legion once and for all and proclaimed a "National and Social State" with himself as "conductor."

That June fascist Rumania joined the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. Some eighteen months later at Stalingrad the Red Army smashed the fascist Rumanian Army to bits in the course of encircling the Nazi Sixth Army. Eighteen months later in 1944 the Red Army conducted a brilliant campaign in Rumania, wiping out twenty one German Divisions and forcing the remnants of the Rumanian Army to capitulate. In Bucharest the Communists rebelled and arrested Antonescu. Some 300,000 Rumanian soldiers had been killed during the year.

VIII. FASCISM AND COMMUNISM IN FINLAND

In Finland, as in Spain, communism and fascism were evenly matched and the struggle was protracted and bloody. The struggle of the Finnish workers against fascism began in 1917. The Finnish Social Democratic Party, a revolutionary communist internationalist organization, had the solid support of the working class and many of the small farmers. In 1916 they even had won a majority of seats in Parliament, but the Czar of Russia (Finland was then a part of the Russian Empire) of course never allowed the revolutionary body to meet. The Finnish Social Democrats, encouraged and armed by Bolshevik soldiers, led a revolutionary struggle in 1917 to overthrow the old order. In January 1918 the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and an independent Finland allied with Soviet Russia.

While the communist-led working class fought Czarism by making revolution, the reactionary students and upper class youth "fought" Czarism only by enlisting in the German Imperial Army. They formed the elite Jager battalion. With the revolution sweeping the country, the desperate bourgeoisie began to recall the Jager units to Finland and reorganized them under Field Marshall Baron Gustaf Mannerheim into White Guard units to fight the revolutionaries. In the north of Finland the White Guards had some success and formed a bogus state with Svinhufud as head, Mannerheim as commander-in-chief and Wallenius and Ostermann, two German generals as key commanders. Despite untold butchery the White Guards were unable to capture Helsinki and the key industrial cities in the South. So in April 12,000 German troops arrived and with the aid of the German Baltic fleet succeeded in overthrowing the workers' government in Finland. Helsinki fell on April 28, 1917. Some 20,000 Finnish workers were slaughtered by the White Guards and 80,000 were thrown into concentration camps. Thousands of workers and communists fled across the border to Soviet Russia.[18] The Finnish Soviet government had to disband and turn its attention to helping the refugees. Key figures in the revolutionary movement formed the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) in August 29, 1918. The SKP represented the immense majority of the elected leadership of the old workers' movement.

In Finland a white terror raged. The Svinhufud fascists launched attacks on Soviet Russia, making demands for new territories. However, the defeat of Germany forced the Finnish bourgeoisie to rid itself of the pro-German clique and Svinhufud, Wallenius and Ostermann fell. A conservative, but not fascist, government was eventually formed which encouraged a tiny group of right-wing Social Democratic renegades to form a SDP to "represent the workers" since the SKP (the communist party) was to remain outlawed. Mannerheim reorganized the White Guards into a per-

manent counter-revolutionary force called the Civil Guard.

The government of Finland in the twenties eventually made diplomatic peace with the Soviet Union and allowed trade-union organizing and reformist politics. However, the SKP remained banned. Under these circumstances the SKP correctly developed a dual apparatus of illegal and legal work. Lenin praised the Finnish Communist Party as a model Party for combining legal and illegal work.[19]

The foundation of the workers' movement was the underground SKP which was established in Finland by the refugees who had secretly returned to Finland. It was founded under very difficult conditions. The members of the first "domestic center" were all arrested in May 1919 just two months after it was put together. Nevertheless, an organization was eventually secured, and it grew, recruiting thousands of workers into several hundred cells. The underground organized some small-scale military actions against the state, but since the revolutionary tide had ebbed, their main focus was on capturing control of legal workers' organizations, primarily the trade-unions. Through this work, eventually a legal communist apparatus could be constructed.

The first success was the capture of the legal Social Democratic Youth League by non-public communists in September 1919. The Helsinki SDP machine was likewise captured by left forces; then the Woodworkers' Union. Within months certain SDP newspapers came under communist control; this gave the underground SKP an opportunity to put forward the Marxist-Leninist line publicly and legally. Eventually the SKP convinced left wingers in the SDP—including the whole Helsinki SDP organization - and in the unions to form a legal, slightly disguised Communist Party, called the Socialist Workers Party (STP), which existed side by side with the underground SKP. Through the STP the communists opened a series of newspapers in the country and even entered elections winning 14 percent in the 1922 national ballot and 341 seats in local elections. Through the underground work, the communists won control of the Finnish Trade-Union Congress in 1920 and maintained leadership of the trade-union movement for ten years, until the fascist takeover in 1930.[20]

The result of this combination of legal and illegal work was a vast upsurge in militancy, strikes and numerous other workers' struggles. But at the same time, there was a steady stream of arrests and police harassment. In early 1922 the entire leadership of the open Party, the STP, and its newspaper editors were arrested. Yet the communists reorganized. In April 1923 the Social Democratic Youth League was suppressed, and later that year the STP itself was suppressed and the whole legal apparatus with its newspapers and its open leaders was virtually wiped out. Yet as long as the SKP adhered to the principle that its underground branch was the basic cell of the Party, it always proved relatively easy for a legal apparatus to be rebuilt or for new legal newspapers to be founded using some pretext or organization for a cover. Thus for a decade the Finnish communists surged ahead and the working class won many victories.

Toward the end of the decade, however, the communist fractions in the unions and other organizations tended to dominate the Party, at the expense of the underground cells. The fractions began to meet more often than the cells and discussions became more and more pragmatic and less political. These errors weakened the SKP and had an effect on the defeats of 1930.

Communists demonstrate in Helsinki, April 1917

The fascists gathered around the Academic Karelia Society, which kept the idea alive of a "Greater Finland" (at the expense of Soviet Russia). While the working class of Finland was overwhelmingly pro-communist, the students were overwhelmingly pro-fascist. In 1926 some 80 percent of the Finnish students voted for the fascist slate in the campus elections. Meanwhile, on another front the Civil Guard watched sympathetically the growth of fascism in Italy and issued declarations asking to be "unleashed" against the communists. Finally, in the late twenties big business organized the Vientirauka as a permanent army of scabs to break SKP-led strikes. Nevertheless, despite these obstacles, the communist-led metal workers' strike in 1927 and the dock strike in 1928 succeeded in crushing the scabs.

The growing militancy of the working class and the inability of the police to break the underground SKP led to great frustration in bourgeois circles. A determined anti-communist offensive began in 1928, as the depression unfolded earlier in Finland than elsewhere. The first act was the arrest of sixty leaders of the underground and of the communist trade-union fractions. Next came

the splitting of the trade-union congress by the right-wing Social Democrats. Finally, in November 1929 a mass fascist movement, the Lapua Movement, was launched. There were attacks all over Finland on workers' clubs and printing plants; hundreds of Communists were kidnapped, beaten and dumped across the border. At the same time anti-Soviet feeling was whipped up through various means including boycotts of Soviet goods, demonstrations at the Soviet Embassy, etc.

The fascist offensive continued full-blast for six months and by July 1930 the trade-unions were dissolved, the press muzzled and the fascist White Guards, Svinhufud, Wallenius, and Mannerheim had returned to state power. Everything seemed to be in place for a fascist Finland. But a power struggle between Wallenius and Svinhufud in 1932 ended badly for the former and the Lapua Movement was thrown out of the government. The SDP which had maintained a precarious legality in the two and one-half years of semi-fascist power now gained back respectability from its close association with the "lesser evil" fascist Svinhufud. The Lapua Movement transformed itself into the IKL and became the opposition, now adopting the Nazi or Italian fascist salute, uniform and other fascist methods of organization.

The arrest of the underground communist leadership had hurt the Communist Party badly so that it was unable to defeat the Lapua Movement. The leadership had not taken the fascists seriously enough and had not effectively mobilized the workers to stem the fascist tide. The Comintern declared that the leaders of the SKP had been caught asleep at their post. This was undoubtedly a result of the deviation of emphasizing fractions at the expense of cells, economic work at the expense of political work, and legal work at the expense of underground work. The effect of the fascist offensive was shattering as the SKP public activity was suppressed and underground work was rendered so hazardous as to be almost ineffective. Between 1930 and 1935 more than 2500 communists were convicted of treason or sedition; many others were arrested, detained or expelled across the Soviet border.

Yet, despite all the repression, the essential elements of the underground remained and the SKP turned to infiltrating the SDP and the SDP's legal trade-unions. In line with Dimitrov's united front policy of 1935 the communists aided the SDP in the elections of 1936. This resulted in a victory for the "left" parties. The persecution of the SKP abated somewhat and trade-union activity increased in the period 1936-1939. But as in France the surface of the united front government barely masked the growing fascistization of the bureaucracy and of the military. Alliances were made by the SDP-supported government with international fascism. In 1937 the strategic port of Pestano was signed over to a Nazi company[21]; in 1938 the Finnish high command visited Nazi Germany, and the visit was reciprocated by the Nazis soon afterward; in 1939 German experts constructed heavy offensive fortifications near the Soviet border and built airbases with a capacity ten times that of the Finnish air force..[22]

In October 1939 the country was put on a war footing and anti-Soviet hysteria was incited. Once again the communists were suppressed and a third fascist government under Mannerheim took power. Under these hostile conditions, the Soviet Union, taking advantage of the Nazi conflict with Britain and France, made demands on the Finnish fascists. They demanded the dismantling of the fortifications that were within artillery range of Leningrad, and the tearing down of the Nazi submarine base in Pestano. In addition they requested a base in Finnish territory for the protection of the Soviet Baltic fleet. The Mannerheim clique refused these just demands and attacked Soviet border posts on November 26, 1939. A bitter winter war followed resulting in the thorough defeat of the fascists.

On March 12, 1940 the Mannerheim fascists sued for peace. The Soviet Union showed an undue regard for "world public opinion" and signed an extremely lenient peace with Finland. The fascists were turned out of office, a stretch of territory near Leningrad containing the hostile fortifications was liberated; Pestano was neutralized, and the Soviet Baltic fleet protected. These measures did not qualitatively change the class relationships in Finland but they proved to be decisive in saving Leningrad eighteen months later.

Once again, there was a brief period of semi-legality for communist front groups and newspapers, but not for the SKP itself. The anti-fascist Finnish working class welcomed the return of communists to semi-legality. They had never bought Mannerheim's chauvinist line. The communist-front groups were flooded by workers and anti-fascist intellectuals, eager to prevent Finland from joining the Nazi crusade.[23] However, the international balance of forces was unfavorable and in January 1941 the IKL took over the government and the fourth fascist Finnish state was at hand. In June 1941 the Finnish fascists marched deep into Soviet territory and the Nazi high command gave them the responsibility of holding the line on the northern half of the front during the 900 day Nazi siege of Leningrad.

The SKP, on its part, maintained the underground during the war, organizing anti-war strikes, sabotage and meetings and maintaining their underground newspaper. Some 30,000 Finnish soldiers were organized to desert the army, to join armed partisans in the forests.[24] These efforts were of considerable help in the eventual victory. In September 1944 the fourth fascist Finnish government fell and Finland was forced out of the war.

IX. THE HIGH WATER MARK

The general crisis of capitalism in the thirties, manifested by the never-ending Great Depression, the sharpening imperialist contradictions and the growing strength of a class-conscious proletariat led by revolutionary communists, was now so deep and so impossible to deal with under normal conditions that fascism became the order of the day. By 1938-1941 almost the whole of the capitalist world fell under fascist domination. Indeed, only British and U.S. capitalism proved strong enough to face the crisis and still maintain bourgeois democratic regimes. But even these imperialists displayed a marked desire to concede the rest of the world to fascism. Thus it was that, with the connivance of the remaining liberals in Britain, the U.S., Sweden, Switzerland, Canada and a few other countries, all the remaining capitalist world came under fascist rule in the period 1939-1941.

• In **Germany** the Nazi regime was fully consolidated, having digested Austria, the Saar region and the Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia. A mighty war machine was built up by early 1939. By 1941 as a result of military conquest, Greater Germany was expanded to include the formerly independent mini-states of Luxembourg, Danzig and Memel; also vast areas of Poland, the Yugoslav provinces of Carniola, Carinthia and Lower Styria, the French province of Alsace-Lorraine, and the Belgian districts of Eupen, Malmedy and Moresnet were added to the Third Reich.

• In **Italy** the fascists were likewise consolidated. The new colonies conquered in Africa came under the heel of Italian fascism. By 1941 Greater Italy was expanded to include the whole of formerly independent Albania as well as the Yugoslav provinces of Ljulania and Dalmatia and the French district of Mentone.

• In **Hungary** the senior fascist state was in turn expanded into "Greater Hungary" including Transylvania from Rumania, the Highland and Sub-Carpathian regions from Czechoslovakia and four districts of Northern Yugoslavia.

• **Czechoslovakia,** supposedly a model for liberal bourgeois democracy, was handed over to Nazi Germany by the French and British liberals, with the behind-the-scenes connivance of the Roosevelt administration in the U.S. Czechoslovakia was digested in two gulps. First, on September 29, 1938 the key industrial area of Sudetenland containing all the main fortifications was occupied by the German Nazis with the aid of the local fascists in the Sudeten German Party. Then in March 1939 the remainder of Czechoslovakia was broken up into "protectorates" of Bohemia and Moravia. (The "protector" was the German Nazi leader, Von Neurath) and into a fascist state of Slovakia under the heel of the Nazi puppet, Tiso and his goose-stepping Hlinka Guards. Throughout the crisis the Soviet Union offered to defend Czechoslovakia against Nazi demands, but the Czech bourgeoisie preferred annihilation at Nazi hands to the class war that a Soviet alliance would have entailed.

Konrad Henlein, Sudeten Nazi leader

• The part of **Poland** not incorporated into Greater Germany was ruled by a Nazi "Governor-General."

• A truncated **Rumania** was now, under Antonescu, a solid German ally. In return for joining the Nazi attack on the USSR fascist Rumania was promised vast areas of the Soviet Ukraine for a "greater Rumania."

• As early as June 1923 a reactionary coup d'etat in **Bulgaria** wiped out liberalism in that Eastern European nation. The anti-communist butcher Tsankov came to power murdering some 16,000 workers and peasants during the coup and its aftermath. The powerful Bulgarian Communist Party was driven underground and suffered serious losses as did the militant Peasant Party. As in Rumania conflicts between Nazis, fascists, semi-fascists and monarchists dominated bourgeois politics. But in 1934 all factions got together to strike back at the now resurgent communists, and to all intents, after June 12, 1934 a full-fledged fascist regime obtained in Bulgaria. Bulgaria formerally joined the Axis Pact in March 1941.

• In **Yugoslavia** there was a marked trend toward fascism as early as 1929 when all parties but the royal Yugoslav National Party were banned. The semi-fascist government was abolished for a short time under British pressure in 1939, but later in the aftermath of Nazi victories in the west, the Yugoslav bourgeoisie split into two. One faction led by the Regent Prince Paul favored a Nazi state allied with Germany and signed such an agreement on behalf of the government. However, a popular revolt, encouraged by the pro-British faction in the bourgeoisie in March 1941 overthrew the local Nazis. But this act almost immediately brought on a successful German invasion. Conquered Yugoslavia was divided into German, Italian, Hungarian and Bulgarian zones. In the remaining areas a Serbian Nazi-puppet government was established, and in Croatia a

genuine local fascist movement, the Ustase, took power in alliance with the Nazis, managing to murder 100,000 Yugoslavs without any prompting at all from their Nazi friends.

• In **Greece** there was a pro-British fascist coup in August 1936. One General Metaxas declared himself premier for life. There were the usual accompanying murders and tortures of communists (some 50,000 communists were arrested), press censorship, concentration camps, book burnings (even Sophocles was banned!), etc. But the pro-British position of the Greek fascists resulted in war with Germany. Conquered Greece was divided into a Bulgarian zone ("greater Bulgaria") and a pro-Nazi Greek fascist regime in Thessally and the Peloponesses; the islands were under direct German Nazi occupation.[25]

• In **Lithuania** an anti-communist dictatorship was established in 1926. This grew naturally into a full-fledged fascist regime by 1935, with the outlawing of all other political parties. There was the "Iron Wolf" fascist militia and the "Fuhrer Principle" was introduced into the ruling Nationalist Party. Smetana was local fuhrer.

• In **Latvia** the Communist Party had been outlawed at the birth of the nation in 1919. A Nazi Party was formed in 1932 and in the coup of May 1934 a full-fledged pro-German fascist state was set up.

• In **Estonia** the Communist Party was outlawed after 1924. A military dictatorship took power in 1934 and evolved into the usual fascist state by the time of the decrees of 1938.

(By 1940 the existence of these three hostile fascist states so close to the industrial heartland of the Soviet Union was so dangerous as to be utterly intolerable. With the Nazis occupied in the Battle of France during June 1940 a combination of Soviet pressure and rebellion by the underground Communist Parties toppled the fascist regimes in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in short order. Communists in alliance with other workers took power and the three newly liberated nations were admitted into the Soviet Union in August 1940.)

• In **Finland,** as described above, full-fledged fascism was again in power in early 1941.

• In **Sweden** a powerful local Nazi Party was never able to obtain full power. Severe anti-communist laws were passed in 1939-1940, but the CP itself was not outlawed. Nevertheless Nazi sentiment was strong enough to ensure a pro-German "neutrality" for Sweden in 1939-1941.

• In **Norway** numerous fascist organizations, and permanent strike-breaking armies of scabs held sway during the strike wave of 1930-1931. In 1933 a former minister, Quisling, founded the fascist Nasjonal Samling Party with himself as leader. After the 1940 German invasion, Quisling and his fascist clique assumed power. The fascists had 43,000 members by 1943 and sent a force of 5000 Norwegian fascists to fight on the Russian Front. Except for a small minority that fled to Britain the majority of the Norwegian bourgeoisie

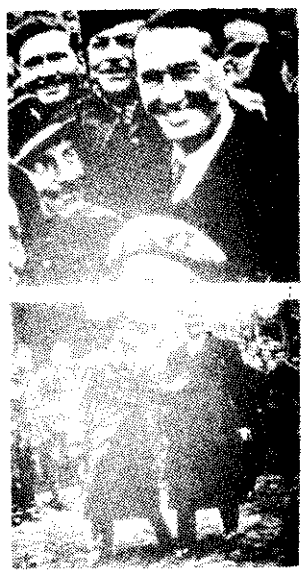
Quisling, 1887-1945

willingly collaborated with the Nasjonal Samling clique.[26]

• **After the April 1940 invasion of Denmark,** the Danish state reorganized itself on fascist lines. The old liberal police became the new Danism Gestapo; the Communist Party was, of course, outlawed. In late 1941 Denmark joined the Nazi Anti-Comintern Pact.[27]

• In the **Netherlands** the Nazi Mussert Party had polled eight percent of the vote in 1935 and did even better in 1937. Following the German invasion of 1940 the Dutch Nazis were fully installed in power. There was a German High Commissioner for the Netherlands, (Seys-Inquart, the successful Nazi leader in Austria) but under him all administrative posts were held by Dutch Nazis. Some 15,000 Dutch Nazis volunteered for the Russian Front.

• In **Belgium** there was a Flemish Nazi Party organized in 1931 and for the French-speaking



Maurice Chevalier entertains for nazis

section of the country, a fascist Rexist Party that became a strong political force by 1936. However, under German occupation the Flemish Nazis were favored and an all-Belgian Nazi Party functioned under German rule.

• In **France, Spain** and **Portugal** fascism was fully in power by 1940. These three Western European fascist states cooperated in varying degrees with the Nazi New Order in Europe. In both Spain and France the fascist governments sent armies to fight the Soviet Union in alliance with Nazi Germany.

• In **Central America** fascist regimes were in power in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras. The Ubico dictatorship in Guatemala and the Martinez clique in Salvador were outspoken admirers and allies of Hitler.

• In almost all the nations of South America a bitter struggle ensued between the Nazis and the traditional Anglo-U.S. controlled military oligarchies. In 1935 Nazis took power in **Ecuador** going so far as to deport all Jews. In **Peru** the unabashedly pro-Hitler Prado took power in 1940. In **Bolivia** a 1936 coup brought the local Nazi Party into power, which proclaimed National Socialism and turned the Bolivian Army over to German officers. A pro-U.S. coup in 1940 ousted the Nazis temporarily but they returned to power in December, 1943. In **Chile** during 1938 the pro-German **Nacista** party attempted a coup and just narrowly failed; a communist-led united front government followed, only to be overthrown by pro-U.S. militarists in 1940. In **Paraguay** the Febreristas, imitators of European fascism, held power from 1936-1937; then in 1940 the fascist Moringo clique took over. In **Columbia** powerful pro-Franco groups were unable to topple the pro-U.S. oligarchy.

• In **Brazil** a bitter struggle between the pro-U.S. Vargas fascist clique and the pro-German Nazi Integralista Party marked Brazilian politics from 1933-1937; both cliques cooperated in the violent suppression of the Communist Party and the bloody suppression of the anti-fascist rebellions of 1932, 1935 and 1938. When the green-shirted Integralistas fell apart in 1937, German money flowed to and influenced the Vargas fascists, who proclaimed a "new State" in imitation of the Portuguese fascists. Eventually however, U.S. money won out when in 1942 the Vargas fascists took a pro-U.S. stand.[28]

• In **Argentina** the outcome was slightly different. The military, honeycombed with Nazis and fascists, held power from 1930-1938. The short "democratic" period of 1938-1940 served only to build up a big Nazi Party, around the Nazi paper **El Pampero,** and a big pro-Franco Party. When the Nazi Castillo took over in 1940, Jews were persecuted and the Nazi Party went on a rampage. The struggle between pro-U.S. and pro-Nazi factions ended with the victory of Nazi elements in the June 1943 coup that started Peron's rise to power. Thousands of communists, liberals and Jews were stuffed into concentration camps. (The story of Peronista fascism properly belongs with the story of post-World War II fascism, which will be covered in Part III of this series.)

• In **Africa** the entire continent suffered under brutal colonial regimes of the various powers. Most of these were fascist (Spain, Italy, France, Portugal, South Africa); however, in the British African colonies there was no discernible difference in the "democratic" oppression of Africans.

• In the **Mid-East, India** and **South-East Asia,** the situation was the same. **Turkey** was under an anti-Soviet military dictatorship that favored the Nazis at least until 1943. Nazis were in powerful positions in Syria, Iraq and Iran. But in no case were communists or real trade-unions legal.

• Except for the Communist-held areas, **China** was divided between the Japanese fascists and the KMT fascists.

Thus by 1941 it was clear there was very little of the capitalist world that was not fascist and even these small areas could not be considered safe for liberal "democracy." In the spring of 1941 the exhausted British imperialists were seriously toying with the idea of an accommodation with Hitler, and doubtless the U.S. imperialists were not very far behind, considering their history of appeasement and cooperation with fascism. (Even the BBC television series "World at War" admitted that only the hope that Soviet Russia would save Britain prevented a British surrender to Hitler in early 1941.)

These trends were so clear by early 1939 that the International Communist Movement was forced to make a reevaluation of its tactics in regard to fighting fascism. The policy of united front had been turned to dust. Despite temporary successes in Spain, France, Chile and elsewhere, in no place did the united front to save liberal democracy produce lasting results. The policies of Dimitrov had failed in practice. Those who had reservations about the possibility of a communist-social democrat-liberal alliance to stop fascism now took command of the wounded Communist International, and of Soviet foreign policy.* The Russian Manuilsky in effect took active leadership of the Comintern from Dimitrov. Stalin, now that the struggle with the USSR's internal fascists, the Trotskyites, was victorious, paid the fullest possible attention to military and diplomatic affairs. But the clearest signal that a change was in the wind came on May 3, 1939 when Litvinov, the Soviet diplomatic spokesman for a USSR-liberal democracy alliance against fascism, was replaced by the veteran revolutionary Molotov in the post of People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

The International Communist Movement had

* The anti-communist historian Medvedev (see article on "Stalinism," this issue) claims to have evidence that Stalin never agreed with the outcome of the 7th Congress. This may be correct since although it is true that Stalin never publicly expressed disagreement, it is also a fact that he was not present at the proceedings of the 7th Congress. This absence was extraordinary and inexplicable otherwise.

come full circle. There was now the recognition that fascism is an integral part of decaying monopoly capitalism, that it was useless to continue the futile policy of getting the fascist-appeaser states of Britain and France to join the Soviet Union in a united fight against fascism, that the social democrats and liberals would rather be on their knees before fascism than stand firm with communists to oppose fascism, and that only the armed force of the international communist movement could stop fascism. Molotov said as much upon assuming office.

Time was short, however; the Soviet Union needed time to build up its strength for the inevitable Nazi-Soviet clash; the Soviet Union needed a way to split the Nazis from their British and French appeasers; and the Soviet Union needed an opportunity to liquidate the fascist outposts in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Poland and Bessarabia that were so dangerously close to the industrial center of the Soviet Union. All this was offered by the German fascists when they made, for their own reasons, the unusual offer of a non-aggression pact in the summer of 1939.

Before taking this step the USSR had made still more super-human but ultimately wasted efforts to line up Britain and France in a genuine anti-Nazi alliance. The Munich agreement scuttled the first Soviet proposal. On March 18, 1939 the USSR made a second proposal; it was immediately rejected by the British Prime Minister. On April 16, Litvinov made a personal appeal for a three-power anti-Nazi military Pact. The British waited until May 8 and then rejected the Soviet proposal. At the end of May a fourth proposal to Britain and France was made, this time by Molotov, but in early June the British Foreign Minister refused an invitation to go to Moscow to negotiate. In July, a fifth Soviet proposal to Britain and France to negotiate a pact only produced two military officers (Admiral Drax and General Doumenc) who took a slow boat to the Soviet Union and arrived with no written authority to negotiate anything whatsoever.[29] (It could be justly argued that the Soviet leadership should never have gone to such lengths to negotiate a pact that the British and French imperialists would never have honored. But the distasteful alternative of dealing with the Nazis made them feel they had to give it their best shot.)

Thus when the Nazis offered the Soviet Union a non-aggression pact in August the USSR leaders had no choice but to accept. History shows the great foresight of Stalin and Molotov in agreeing to this pact:

(1) The pact, ironically, was the only way to get Britain and France into a war with Nazi Germany. Even after the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, the British and French imperialists made a number of gestures to Hitler, proposing joint anti-Soviet action especially around Finland. Only the crushing of France and the severe air-war against Britain convinced the British imperialists to seriously pursue the war effort.

(2) The pact enabled the Soviet Union to liquidate the fascist threat in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; to roll back the Finnish fortifications that threatened Leningrad and to recover Ukrainian territories from both fascist Rumania and fascist Poland.

(3) The pact gave the Soviet Union two more valuable years to build up its armed forces, its war industry and its fortifications. At the very least these two years were crucial in saving Moscow and Leningrad from Nazi annihilation.

At any rate by the Spring of 1941 as the inevitable war between fascism and communism unfolded, it should have been clear to all that Dutt,* not Dimitrov, was correct. Only communism could defeat fascism. In particular, this meant that the Soviet Union, the creation and accomplishment of the workers of the world, would be now called upon to play its historical role. The seven years of struggle after the publication of Dutt's book showed that only communists gave the fascists a serious fight, i.e. in Spain and in China. The social democrats and liberals only surrendered (Austria, Czechoslovakia), when they didn't actually collaborate in the fascist takeover (Finland, France). The six years of struggle after the Dimitrov report showed that the united front with liberals, social democrats and other bourgeois elements only brought the enemy into the anti-fascist camp, which served to disillusion, disorganize and disorient the proletarian forces. Thus, the six-year period up to 1941 proved one-half of Dutt's thesis; the only organized forces willing to fight fascism were communists—centainly all others had capitulated to or collaborated with fascism. The war of 1941-1945 would prove that not only were communists willing, they were able. The main fascist states were smashed and their influence on their followers severely crushed.

X. THE DEFEAT OF FASCISM

In the years 1941-1945 fascism suffered a series of such crushing defeats that it was almost eliminated altogether. (Of course as long as capitalism exists, the menace of fascism is present. But the fascist upsurge of that era was stopped.) This is not the place for a detailed description of the war and the resistance or even an outline history of either. The Soviet Union has published a detailed account of the war on the Russian Front; there are less complete accounts of the war in China and the resistance in Asia and Europe. In this section the purpose is merely to point out the role communists played in the drama. To do this we will list twenty two of the most im-

* By the time of the 7th Congress Dutt had also succumbed to the Dimitrov line; in the post-war years Dutt became a stone revisionist. The book he wrote was not a work of individual genius, by any means, but a summation of the experience of the revolutionary line of the Comintern. When we speak of the struggle between Dimitrov and Dutt, we mean the clash between the erroneous line of the 7th Congress *vs.* the earlier revolutionary line of the Comintern.

portant anti-fascist military campaigns that communists led.

1. Operation Barbarossa

On June 22, 1941 the fascist hordes gathered the largest and best-equipped armada in history to attack the Soviet Union. Besides the Nazi Army, which with only a fraction of its forces had conquered Poland in twenty-six days, Holland in four days and France in forty days, the entire fascist armies of Hungary, Rumania and Finland were thrown into the invasion. Shortly, large armies from Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, Slovokia, Norway, France, the Netherlands and elsewhere arrived on the Russian Front to fight on the side of the Nazis.

Before the attack, earlier that spring, the Nazi armies had crushed the pro-British regimes in Yugoslavia and Greece. Over 20,000 British troops had been captured at Crete. With a Nazi government in Iraq, it seemed that the Anglo-U.S. positions in the Mid-East were about to be abandoned. For the British, despite their not having bowed to the heavy German bombing, the war appeared to be almost over. Rudolph Hess, the number two Nazi, flew to Britain in early 1941 to arrange a peace; Hess demanded the ouster of Churchill as well as big territorial concessions around the world. A debate within the British ruling circles began on the merits of accepting this humiliating peace offer. By a narrow margin, the House of Commons, reflecting this debate, voted to retain Churchill in office. The probable reason for rejecting the Nazi offer was the fervent belief that the Soviet Union would soon enter the war, and thus stifle any further British losses.

These calculations were clear to Hitler, as well, as he admitted in a letter to Mussolini explaining his decision to attack Russia:

> Really, all available Russian forces are at our border . . . If circumstances should give me cause to employ the German Air Force against England, there is danger that Russia will then begin its strategy of extortion, to which I would have to yield in silence simply from a feeling of air inferiority . . . England will be all the less ready for peace for it will be able to pin its hopes on the Russian partner. Indeed this hope must naturally grow with the progress in preparedness of the Russian armed forces . . . Therefore, I have decided to put an end to the hypocritical performance in the Kremlin.[30]

But Operation Barbarossa was not the cakewalk the Nazi armies had been used to. From the start the fascist warlords noticed a difference. Nazi General Blumentritt wrote:

> The conduct of the Russian troops even in this first battle was in striking contrast to the behavior of the Poles and the Western Allies in defeat. Even when encircled the Russians stood their ground and fought.

At Odessa a small Soviet force held 19 German and Rumanian divisions at bay for two and one-half months; they killed 110,000 Rumanian fascists before evacuating 350,000 civilian and 200,000 tons of industrial equipment to safer areas. In Smolensk from July 16 to August 15, the blitzkrieg was halted; in Tallin 20,000 Soviet soldiers and 25,000 armed Estonian workers held off the fascist hordes during one month of street fighting. The Crimean town of Sebastopol held out for 250 days, tying down von Manstein's 11th Army.[31]

2. Battle of Moscow

Even so the fascists drove deep into Russia, encircled a big Soviet force at Kiev, surrounded Leningrad, and began a drive for Moscow in October 1941 with 1,100,000 fascist troops. (At this time the U.S. and Britain confined themselves to a few naval skirmishes with the Nazis in the North Atlantic.) Stalin's exceptional strategies of drawing the fascists deep into Soviet territory, of carefully husbanding the reserves, of throwing in formidable new Soviet-engineered weapons like the T-34 tank and the Katyusha rockets only at the key point, and of building up partisan war in the rear, now came very favorably into play. As soon as the exhausted fascist offensive ground to a halt on December 6, 1941 the well-equipped highly-motivated Soviet reserves attacked with severe fury driving the Nazis far from Moscow and wiping out 900,000 men, 2300 tanks and 74,000 other motor vehicles. It was the beginning of the end for the Thousand Year Reich.[32]

3. The Seige of Leningrad

The 900 day siege of Leningrad was another unprecedented epic. The way the Communist Party organized the defense of the city and the care and feeding of the people in the face of such a determined attack by Finnish and German fascists is a story all communists should know. Nazi documents stated that "The Fuhrer has decided to

Russian sharpshooter downs Nazi soldier at Stalingrad

have Leningrad wiped off the face of the earth. The further existence of this large city is of no interest once Soviet Russia is overthrown."[33] Yet in the end it was this city of 3,000,000, led by its communist organizations, that wiped the Nazi blockaders off the face of the earth. The worst part of the siege lasted from September 1941 until April 1942. (At that time by contrast the U.S. and British forces were surrendering to the fascists all around the world: Philippines, Singapore (60,000 British surrendered there), Malaya, Tubruk in North Africa, Indonesia, Guam, New Guinea, etc.) The Nazi blockade of Leningrad lasted until January 1943.

4. The Battle of Stalingrad

This was of course the turning point of the war. The Nazis massed 217 divisions and had an advantage in numbers of soldiers, tanks and planes. But the revolutionary-spirited Red Army of men and women, who made the fascists pay dearly for every house, every block, the militant working class of Stalingrad who made the tanks in the beseiged factories and then drove them a few city blocks to the front lines, and the brilliant strategy of Stalin and the Central Committee overcame this advantage. The Italian and Rumanian armies, as well as the Nazi 6th Army that had previously conquered France, were all destroyed. All told, 1,500,000 fascists, 3500 tanks and 3000 planes were wiped out by the Soviet forces.[34] (At the same time, in the late fall of 1942, the U.S.-British forces finally managed a small offensive at El Alamein, defeating 40,000 Italian and German troops and a small number of tanks.)

5. The Soviet Partisan Campaign

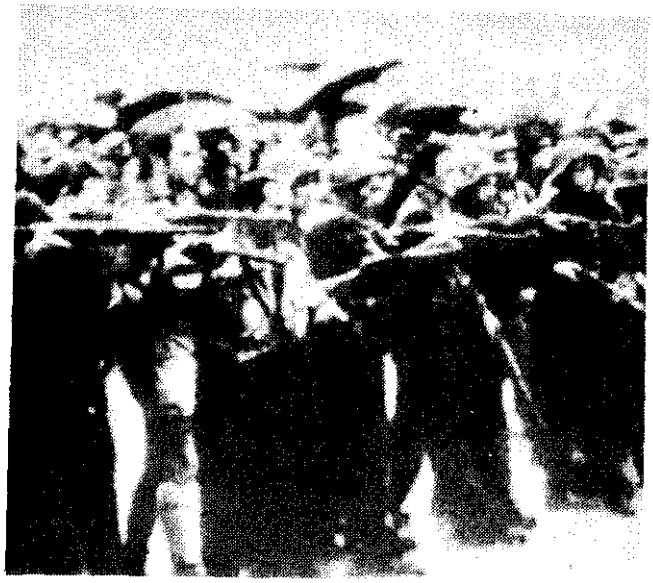
As early as July 1941 the first partisan detachments were organized behind Nazi lines. By December 1941, the 10,000 partisans behind fascist lines had already tied up 30,000 Hungarian lackies destined for the Battle of Moscow. In 1942 the first "Partisan Regions" were set-up; these were areas behind Nazi lines which were under control of the communists. Fully 60 percent of Byelorussia and 40 percent of Orel Province were cleared of Nazis by the partisans. In Smolensk there were 22,000 partisans and even landing strips were set up so that the Red Army began to send mortars, anti-tank weapons and medical supplies to the partisans who were now holding down scores of divisions. In 1943 most of Russia proper was now behind Red Army lines. However, the Nazis still held Byelorussia and most of the Ukraine. In Byelorussia there were 360,000 partisans operating; these killed some 500,000 fascist invaders including 47 generals and the Nazi high commissioner for Byelorussia. In the Ukraine there were 220,000 partisans who eliminated 460,000 Nazi soldiers, 500 locomotives and 50,000 railroad cars, thus destroying all fascist transportation in the area.[35] **All in all the Soviet partisans alone annihilated far more fascist troops between 1941-1943 than all the U.S and British forces did in the entire war against both Germany and Japan.**

Soviet partisans in the Bryansk forest

Nazi soldier after Kursk

6. The Battle of Kursk

The biggest tank battle in history (over 6000 tanks and 2,000,000 men were involved) was a decisive Soviet victory. From July to October 1943 over 1,000,000 Nazis were wiped out. (At the same time U.S. imperialists finally got up the courage to launch a large-scale action in Sicily. There were only seven German divisions involved in the Italian campaign in 1943, compared with 200 on the Russian Front. And more fascist Italian troops fell in Russia than in Italy in their defense against the U.S.-British invasion. Nevertheless, the little help the U.S. imperialists did give in the defeat of the Nazis was due in no small part to the tremendous popular movement that U.S. communists and other progressives launched demanding a second front and aid and relief for the USSR.)



Italian partisan firing squad

7. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

The heroic uprising of the Jewish Ghetto in Warsaw was an incredible example of human courage. Some 60,000 Jews with only a few small arms and Molotov cocktails fought to a standstill an SS division which was armed with tanks to a standstill for nearly a month, before succumbing to superior force. There were other rebellions of Jewish ghettoes, particularly at Bialystok. A particularly heroic act was the uprising at the Treblinka concentration camp, where 600 Jews burned the camp, then seized arms from the SS and went down fighting heroically.

8. The Partisan War in Italy

The communist underground in Italy grew rapidly during the war from some sporadic anti-war strikes in 1940 to the 20,000-worker strike of the Fiat arms factory on March 1943. In that month all of industrial Turin was swept by a strike wave. After the fall of Mussolini in July 1943 and the resulting German occupation the sporadic guerrilla struggle and the industrial underground led by the Communist Party turned to a massive Partisan campaign which involved 300,000 armed fighters before it was over. Also hundreds of thousands of deserters from the fascist army were organized by the CP into anti-fascist units that fought in Russia, France, Albania, Greece and Montenegro. In occupied-Northern Italy big battles were fought which by late 1944 served to check twenty-three German and four fascist Italian divisions, more than were occupied in holding back the U.S.-British forces in Central Italy. Large areas of Northern and Central Italy became impenetrable to the fascists and even in the cities the working class areas were under communist political control, if not military control. The great anti-fascist general strike of 1,200,000 workers in northern Italy in March 1944 right under the nose of the Nazi troops proved this. In the cities fascist warriors were assassinated and fascist headquarters burned down. There were marches and demonstrations, sabotage and other actions. In the rural areas regular battles were fought. In 1945 the Partisans went on the offensive liberating Milan after three days of fighting and Turin after two days of fighting. Padua, Venice, Bologna, Modena and Genoa were all freed by the Partisans before the U.S.-British forces could arrive.[36]

9. The Byelorussian Campaign

This campaign in June 1944 finished off the Nazi Army Group Center and a significant portion of Soviet territory was liberated. Another 500,000 Nazi soldiers were wiped out in one blow.

10. The Battle of Rumania

Talk about a blitzkrieg! On August 20 began a lightning nine-day campaign that saw fascist regimes in Rumania and Bulgaria annihilated and 300,000 German conquistadores on the Rumanian front liquidated. Starting in July 1942 the communists had organized anti-fascist resistance in Rumania. By 1944 there were 14,000 communist-led partisans in Rumania, and 15,000 Rumanians fighting with the Red Army. In Bulgaria partisans made their first appearance in 1941; by 1943 the communists had organized a regular anti-fascist army of national liberation.[37]

At the same time in the northwest fifty fascist divisions were bottled up along the Baltic. And in the far north another Soviet army forced fascist Finland to capitulate. Meanwhile in the center, thanks to the success of the Byelorussian campaign, the Red Army advanced 400 miles into Poland to the Vistula River. (After two years of heavy political pressure to do something, the U.S. and British forces finally landed at Normandy. Because of the collapse of the Nazi front in Byelorussia and Rumania almost all (about 100 divisions) fascist effectives were rushed east to the Vistula. Thus it was that the U.S. and British forces faced only three Nazi divisions in Normandy.)

11. The Resistance in Poland

The fascist government of Poland had gone into exile in London from where they had directed the organization of an underground Home Army (AK) based on former officers. The Communist Party formed its own underground Popular Army (GL). By early 1942 both underground armies were carrying out actions against railroads, police and the Gestapo. The virulent anti-communism of the AK leadership made unity at the top unfeasible, but local units did cooperate with one another. Until mid-1944 both groups grew about equally and were equally effective: the GL was responsible for 600 Nazi train derailments; the AK for 700; the GL wiped out 453 Nazi administrative offices, the AK 365. But there were differences: the AK was only slightly less anti-Jewish than the Nazis, while the GL aided the beleagured Polish Jews—two hundred communist

non-Jewish Poles from the GL died in the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The GL likewise aided the revolt of Jews in the Treblinka concentration camp and in the revolt of the ghetto of Bialystok. The AK would not lift a finger to aid the Polish Jews.[38]

The differences between the two undergrounds became more striking just before the Battle of Byelorussia as the Red Army was about to approach the Polish border. The GL now turned to large-scale open warfare against the Nazis; in May the GL battled two SS divisions, then in June defeated three Nazi divisions. Finally came the big battle in the forests of Parczow; in these big battles 200,000 German and Polish Nazis were wiped out by the GL.[39]

The AK, on their part, cooperated neither with the GL, which alone was fighting just as big a German force as were the U.S.-British invasion troops at Normandy, nor with the advancing Red Army. The AK skulked westward away from the Nazi troop concentrations into Warsaw where they prepared a desperate anti-communist drama. Directed from London the AK launched an ill-prepared insurrection in Warsaw, timed they hoped, to liberate the capital just before the Red Army arrived, in order that the city would be turned over not to the victorious Red Army or the GL, but to the pre-war fascist clique now in exile in London. Unfortunately for the exiles they miscalculated. As the Red Army with the GL marched the 400 miles from Byelorussia to Warsaw the desperate Nazis withdrew most of their reserves from France, concentrated 100 divisions on the Eastern Front to stop the Red tide, and at the Vistula River just east of Warsaw the Nazis succeeded in halting the Red Army advance. The ill-timed, anti-communist AK uprising was thus unable to count on Soviet help and, after three months of fierce fighting (August to October 1944), it was crushed by the Nazis. The GL and the Soviet Army gave what help they could and GL units in Warsaw joined the uprising despite the ulterior motives of the AK. However, the Soviet forces were unable to cross the Vistula until January 1945. The few remaining remnants of the AK after the Warsaw debacle turned to anti-communist banditry, while the fascist exiles in London who directed the tragedy forfeited any position they might have had in post-war Poland.

12. People's War in Albania

In Albania the communists organized small guerrilla bands in 1941. These partisans, totally under the leadership of revolutionary communists, were expanded to battalion strength in early 1943. By July 1943 almost 50 percent of Albania was thus liberated. In the winter 1943-1944 the Communist army in Albania went on the offensive and was able to completely liberate Albania by the summer of 1944.

13. The Partisan War in Yugoslavia

As early as May 1941 the Communist Party decided to resist the fascist occupation, and the

Partisans in Slovene National Liberation Army on way to sabotage strategic railroad

first partisan bands were set up in June 1941. (The pro-British reactionary Mihailovitch, however, set up his own bands in opposition to the communists with extensive British aid at first. But by 1943 when the obvious open collaboration of Mihailovitch with the Nazis became too blatant the British were forced to withdraw their aid.) The communist Partisans withstood a 1942 attack by 500,000 occupation troops and 100,000 Yugslav fascists and then went on the offensive. Vast territories were liberated. Things got so bad for the fascists in late 1943 that five new German divisions were diverted into Yugoslavia to fight the partisans, who now numbered some 300,000. By early 1944 the partisans were holding down 24 German divisions, nine Bulgarian divisions, three Hungarian divisions and 180,000 fascist Yugoslav soldiers and at the same time holding most of Yugoslavia free of fascism.[40] In conjunction with Soviet effectives who entered Yugoslavia from Rumania the partisans freed the last major cities in October 1944.

14. People's War in Greece

The Communist Party of Greece formed the ELAS national liberation army in late 1941. The political and military success of ELAS denied Greek manpower and to a large extent Greek materials to the Nazis; the Greek partisans pinned down about 10 fascist divisions. By 1944 the whole countryside was liberated by ELAS and the communists represented the only real force in the still-occupied cities. The communists liberated all of Greece by December 1944. Then with all of Greece liberated the British intervened **against the communists and on behalf of the pre-war fascist Greek clique and those Greeks who had collaborated with the Nazis.** (More on this in the next article - Part III.)

15. Resistance in the Low Countries

The resistance in Holland began in February

1941 with a communist-led mass strike wave, initiated by shipyard workers over the mistreatment of Jews. Throughout the war there were mass strikes, assassination of Dutch Nazis and a movement that hid 300,000 "outlaws" (mostly Jews) from the Nazis.[41]

A Belgian Secret Army of 50,000 played a significant military role in the summer of 1944, wiping out a number of Nazi railroads.

16. The Liberation of France

The Maquis, French partisans, were likewise formed and led largely by the communists. From 4000 Maquis in January 1943 this force grew to 200,000 by June 1944. In the summer of 1943 the first battles in Upper Savoy soon caused that territory to be largely liberated. The Maquis mobilized fully in June 1944 to ensure the success of the Normandy landings. The role of the resistance in blocking 150,000 Germans in Brittany, holding up another twelve divisions in the south of France for two days, and paralyzing all rail transportation by strikes for two weeks saved Eisenhower's invasion force from disaster. That plus the drawing off of most of the best Nazi warriors to shore up the Eastern Front ensured a relatively quick and easy liberation of France.

French partisans capture German airman

17. The Resistance in Scandanavia

The working class of Denmark fully opposed the Danish fascists and the German conquerors. This was demonstrated by the mutiny of 5000 merchant seamen in April 1940 and the general strikes of the summer of 1943. The Freedom Council which directed the anti-fascist struggle and the illegal army was dominated by the Communist Party.[42]

In Norway the resistance engaged in sabotage and strikes, as well as small-scale military operations against the Nazis.

18. The Resistance in Hungary and Czechoslovakia

The underground Communist Party in Hungary began military operations against the fascist Arrow Cross in early 1944. After the German occupation activity was stepped up, one partisan group killed 1064 Nazis in August 1944.

Hungarian airborne partisans and Soviet army

As early as 1939 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia organized anti-draft demonstrations in Prague. A growing rebellion in 1941-1942 brought SA deputy-chief Heydrich to Prague; his assassination by British commandoes in May 1942 caused a savage Nazi terror in revenge that set back the revolutionary movement. But by the winter of 1942-1943 the Communist Party was able to reorganize and form the first Partisan bands in the forests south-west of Prague and in the region of Moravia. When in October 1943 large units of the drafted Slovak fascist Army crossed over to the side of the people on the Russian front, they produced cadre who secretly returned to Slovakia and organized the insurrection of the summer of 1944, wherein 75,000 partisans defeated four Nazi divisions. A savage Nazi counter-attack wiped out sixty villages, but the Slovak partisans still managed to keep one-third of Slovakia out of Nazi hands until the subsequent arrival of the Soviet Army. In the Bohemia and Moravia regions, meanwhile, the partisan forces grew to 30,000, liberating a number of towns. In May 5-6, 1945 there was a general insurrection in Prague with over 100,000 participating. The timely erection of barricades by the partisans prevented the last remaining Nazi army from breaking out of Soviet encirclement.[43]

19. The Battle of Berlin

While the Czech resistance and Red Army finished off a big Nazi army to the south, the last seventy Nazi divisions were breathing their last in Berlin. From April 16 to May 5, 1945 a brutal battle between Soviet troops and the last of the Nazis roared on. Some 3-1/2 million men and 8000 tanks were involved on both sides. In the course of crushing the last Nazi force, the Soviet Army lost 305,000 men. (Total U.S.-British losses for all battles in 1945, including the Battle of the Bulge, were 260,000.)

20. The War in China

Chinese Communist resistance to Japanese fascism began even before the agreement with Chiang Kai-Shek in 1937. But after that agreement

the communist-led armies were able to concentrate almost fully on the Japanese fascists. The first major victory was a September 1937 battle at Ping Shang Pass which staved off the Japanese capture of the important city of Taiyuan for two months. As for the KMT they retreated before every Japanese advance, eventually sitting out the war in their redoubts of Szechuan, Yunnan and Tibet deep in Western China. They only bestirred themselves for an occasional attack on the Communists in violation of their agreement. Better than 64 percent of all the Japanese soldiers and 95 percent of the pro-Japanese puppet Chinese troops fought the Red Army in some of the most furious fighting of World War II. There were 1,800,000 Japanese effectives engaged against the North China Red Base areas alone. In the course of the war the Chinese Red Army wiped out 527,000 Japanese fascists and 1,180,000 of their puppet minions.[44] (This was far more of the fascist enemy than were destroyed by the U.S., British and KMT armies combined. The only two major U.S. campaigns, both late in the war, in the Philippines in 1944-45 and in Okinawa in 1945 involved less than one-fifth the number of Japanese soldiers that were fighting the Chinese communists at that time.)

The Chinese communists thrived under the heavy attacks of Japanese fascism, growing from a small force of 30,000 in 1936 to a tested powerful Red Army of 900,000 in 1945 with an auxiliary militia of 2,300,000 and 10,000,000 workers and peasants in the People's Self-Defense Force. Eventually, base areas stretching from Shensi in the north to Hainan Island in the south, with 100,000,000 population, were freed of both Japanese and KMT fascism.

21. Other Campaigns in South-East Asia

The communist-led Huks in the Philippines had far more to do with the liberation of that nation from fascism than the U.S. invasion force. In Burma the Red Flag guerrillas and in Vietnam the communist-led Viet Minh also played the major role. (The U.S. imperialists steadfastly avoided any land war against the major concentrations of Japanese forces. Instead they relied on (1) air and sea power to disrupt Japanese transport and industry or to terrorize the Japanese people, or (2) on the Marines to make glorious but very costly landings on isolated and strategically useless islands. The British did fight a land war in Burma in defense of their colony of India, but it was largely a defensive battle against a secondary concentration of fascism.)

22. Manchurian Campaign

The death blow to the Japanese imperial forces was dealt by the Soviet Red Army in August 1945. In a lightning campaign in Manchuria, the Soviet army wiped out 600,000 Japanese men, taking 148 generals prisoners. (This was more than twice the number of Japanese effectives destroyed by the U.S. forces in the course of the whole war.) The Chinese communist forces joined in this campaign, which in finishing off the main Japanese army led to the surrender. (The U.S. imperialists in a cheap, inhuman act, designed only to win a war in propaganda which they couldn't or wouldn't win in battle, dropped the atom bomb on two Japanese cities after the Soviet attack.) Thus the credit for the defeat of the Japanese fascists (as in the case of the European fascists) belongs almost totally to communists—first, the Chinese communists, second the Soviet Red Army, then the Philippine Huks and other guerrillas.

XI. CONCLUSION

We have briefly passed in review the record of the Communist International in leading the workers of the world to defeat fascism. As Dutt pointed out in the passage quoted at the beginning of this article, "The Communist International alone leads the working class struggle."

Thus in this article we have reviewed three lessons learned in the struggle to defeat fascism during 1934-1945:

FIRST LESSON: Fascism is the natural tendency of the decadent monopoly capitalist class. In this period we saw that nine out of ten capitalist governments adopted a fascist system, including tiny states like Estonia and major powers like Germany, backward economic states like El Salvador and modern industrial states like France, nations with a "totalitarian tradition" like Bulgaria and nations with a "democratic tradition" like Norway. Those few capitalist nations that escaped full-scale fascism like the U.S., Canada and Britain experienced big fascist movements financed by big business, and more importantly saw the growth of a vastly strengthened central state apparatus. Moreover these "democratic" nations encouraged the world-wide trend toward fascism both morally and materially.

The tendency of modern capitalism toward fascism is an inexorable law of modern development. To ignore this law as Dimitrov did at the 7th Congress of the Comintern can put the International Communist Movement in great peril.

SECOND LESSON: Fascism has its roots in the earlier phase of liberal democracy, and the latter begets the former as certainly as any process of social development. Thus the functionaries of the Hitler government came more from the liberal Brunning regime than from the Nazi movement. The "popular socialist" Pilsudski regime, darling of the Western liberals, begat the fascism of the Polish colonels; in Austria, Dollfuss, the defender of democracy speedily became Dollfuss the fascist. Chiang-Kai-Shek of China, King Carol of Rumania and others made the same transition; and Mosley, the leader of the British Labor Party, indeed of its "left" wing, became Mosley fuhrer of British fascism.

Thus the Dimitrov line of defending liberal democracy was a line of defending the roots of fascism and in every case led to disastrous results. The Popular Front governments in France

and Spain were organized to defend liberal democracy from fascism. In fact, history demonstrated that these Popular Front governments severely handicapped the workers' struggle against fascism and, despite the good intentions involved on the part of communists, only made easier the fascist conquest of power.

THIRD LESSON: Since only socialism is a viable alternative to fascism, then only communists can lead the struggle to defeat fascism. We have seen that the liberals and conservatives paved the way for fascism and participated in the fascist governments. We have seen that revisionist social democrats caved in to fascism at every turn, apologized for it, even preferred it over the "Bolshevik menace." But we have also seen that communists fought fascism to the death (Spain), aggressively organized to stamp it out (Britain), and in the end organized and led a great war to crush fascist governments world-wide.

The anti-fascist war was largely successful on this level. Hitler and his Nazi movement were buried in the rubble of Berlin; Mussolini and his fascist gangs were lined up against the wall in northern Italy; the sun finally set on the fascist Japanese Empire; the Quislings in Europe and Asia were liquidated; the little Hitlers from Finland to France were ousted, and fascism received a significant setback. True, a few fascists escaped the general debacle (Franco of Spain, Salazar of Portugal, Argentina's Peron, the Greek fascist clique), but these were initially isolated in the post-World War II anti-fascist unity.

The main problem was that capitalism still existed—decadent monopoly capitalism. Thus the fascist weed was cut down, but the roots remained to sprout new varieties of fascism in the post-war world.

For as long as capitalism exists, fascism will inevitably spring up out of the wreckage of liberalism.

(This concludes Part II of a three-part series. Part III will deal with the resurgence of fascism during the years 1945 to the present.)

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10. Shirer
11. Tien, Harrison
12. Cross
13. Cross
14. Cross
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16. Hoover Institute Study
17. Brody
18. Upton
19. Upton
20. Upton
21. Brody
22. Brody
23. Upton
24. Upton
25. Woolf
26. Woolf
27. Lemkin
28. Hayes
29. Shirer
30. Shirer
31. Werth
32. Zhukov
33. Shirer
34. Zhukov
35. International Conference
36. Delzell
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38. International Conference
39. International Conference
40. International Conference
41. International Conference
42. Upton
43. International Conference
44. Li-Tso-Peng

the game and the aim of the anti-stalinists

INTRODUCTION

The U.S. ruling class is stepping up anti-communism in all sectors of society. They know that the relative decline of U.S. capitalism and the hardships—price increases, wage freezes, unemployment, cutbacks in essential services—they must impose on the American working class mean years of increased militancy and struggle. They well know that it is precisely such conditions which can lead to rejection of capitalist dictatorship by millions of working people, given the presence of a revolutionary communist party. Racism and anti-communism are the two principal ideological weapons the bosses have to weaken workers' struggles and preserve their system.

These aspects of bourgeois ideology are foisted off upon petty-bourgeois intellectuals as well as upon workers. This article will examine three books which, masquerading as objective scholarship, aim to push anti-communism upon intellectuals.

That an intellectual audience is aimed at in each case is clear from the following facts:

(1) these books do not discuss the working class **at all.** They reflect, and try to inculcate, the idealist notion that communism can be intelligently considered from the point of view of ideas alone, or of certain petty-bourgeois forces, and not from the conditions of, and relations among, the masses of working people. Many intellectuals, unfortunately, believe this (perhaps unconsciously).

(2) They are written in a bookish language, foreign to the language of the masses, conforming to the language of intellectual discourse. Intellectuals in general feel more comfortable reading this kind of material, workers less so.

(3) They are loaded with pseudo-scholarly paraphernalia: bibliographies of rare works in foreign languages, many footnotes, etc. This is not to knock real scholarship, which—provided it is guided by revolutionary practice—is necessary to find out the truth about anything. But "scholarship" these writers provide is a total sham, intended only to deceive, and shoddy even by their own bourgeois historical standards. This is to fool the intellectual reader, who has been trained to respect footnotes rather uncritically as the hallmarks of "expertise."

This review does not pretend to deal thoroughly with all important aspects of Stalin's political career, and omits some important questions altogether (the question of the class struggles of the 30s and the "purges," for example). Some of these have been dealt with excellently in past issues of **PL** Magazine (see "Trotsky: Just Another Right-Winger," in **PL**, Vol. 9, No. 4, March-April, 1974, pp. 25-44; "Solzhenitsyn Slanders the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," **PL**, Vol. 9, No. 5, Oct.-Nov., 1974, pp. 51-66). The reader should also read the PLP publication "Road to Revolution, III," which examines the period of Stalin's leadership of the CPSU in relation to the forward development of the international communist working-class movement.

The review does examine each of these three recent, anti-Stalin books in some detail; exposes the phoniness of their scholarship, and thereby points out how the authors lie to the reader; and examines the political basis of their anti-Stalinism.

The most important conclusion is that anti-Stalinism is, and always has been, a masquerade for anti-communism. The attacks on Stalin are,

* Medvedev, Roy A., *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*. Salisbury, Harrison E., *The 900 Days: The Siege of Leningrad*. Tucker, Robert C., *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879-1929: A Study in History and Personality*.

when looked at with a little care, really attacks on Leninism and Lenin, on the concept of a democratic-centralist communist party, and on the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary essence of Marx' and Engels' work. In general, the "myth" of "Stalinism" is a form of anti-communism and anti-working class ideology tailor-made to appeal to petty-bourgeois intellectuals, to win them to ally with the ruling class, and so to acquiesce, however reluctantly, to the bosses' plans for continued exploitation and world war. Ultimately, these books harm intellectuals, try to blind us to our own best interests—unity with the working class for the dictatorship of the proletariat—and try to get us to be sheep led to the slaughter for the imperialists. So, it is important to expose these, and all such books.

The essay will:

(1) Examine the use of source materials by Medvedev, Tucker, and Salisbury, and show its dishonest nature;

(2) Expose the internal contradictions, often very glaring, which these propagandists' attempt to re-write history forces them into;

(3) Expose the political line in each book, and the way attacks on Stalin are really poorly-disguised attacks on socialism.

I. THE SOURCES

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 introduced the first workers' dictatorship, the first attempt of the bourgeoisie was to crush it by force. However, the young Soviet state proved stronger than the Entente powers had expected. Large-scale intervention by Japan, and smaller invasions by British and American forces were beaten back by the workers' and peasants' armies. Further invasions by Polish fascist troops under Pilsudski, and massive foreign aid to "white" armies inside Russia failed to overthrow the communist government. Rebellions against intervention broke out among British troops; whole "White" armies deserted to the Soviet side. Workers' governments were set up briefly in Berlin and Munich, and in Hungary and Finland. In Britain, thousands of miners threatened violence if British aid to the "Whites" continued, and solidarity with the workers' state played a large role in many strikes of war-weary workers in the U.S., especially in the Seattle General Strike (1919). Economies exhausted by war, torn by internal class struggle, and still deadly suspicious of one another, imperialists were not in a position to overthrow the Bolshevik state at once.

With external invasion temporarily shelved as a tactic to stop communism, the bourgeoisie settled into a more long-range campaign of undermining and isolating the Soviet Union. In this "cold war" the bourgeoisie first began to develop anti-communist "scholarship" to back up their lies about the Soviet state. Their first source of such "scholarship" was the thousands of counter-revolutionaries who had fled the Soviet Union as their wealth and privileged positions were taken away. Important among these were the (overwhelmingly intellectual) leaders of various counter-revolutionary political parties—such as the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Kadets (Constitutional Democrats—the liberal bourgeois party under the Tsars), many (unfortunately, not all) of the Mensheviks, whose party had unashamedly collaborated in the bourgeois governments of Feb.-Oct. 1917 and who had plotted Lenin's arrest and death, and others.

These émigrés established publishing houses and journals, through which they churned out tons of "scholarly" anti-Soviet propaganda. In return, they were given money and positions in the Western European capitalist countries, and some of their leaders were made professors in prestigious universities (Kerensky, the S-R leader who was overthrown by the Bolshevik workers in Oct. 1917, eventually became a Professor at Stanford University, site of what is probably the largest center for "scholarly" anti-communism, the Hoover Institution). A few of these émigré presses still survive, though the political parties have died out. The most important (for the bourgeoisie) today are in Paris (YMCA and Kontinent), and in Munich (Grani). All openly receive money from the CIA, West German fascists like Axel Springer, etc., for smuggling anti-Soviet material into the USSR.

For some years in the 20s and 30s, the émigré press was the bourgeoisie's main source of "scholarly" anti-communist information (although additional information was provided in other ways, particularly by the American Relief Administration, sent to gain "full information . . . without the risk of complication through government action" during the famine of 1921-2) (Carr, Bolshevik Revolution III, p. 342). But natural processes rapidly deprived émigrés' reminiscences of any relevance, while the end of the Civil War cut down their contacts within the USSR and shut off their sources of information.

Bourgeois scholars today use émigré writings as minor sources of information only. All recognize they are biased as hell and apt to lie (Medvedev and Tucker each expose one or two incidents of such lying in their books). That they are used at all is, however, precisely because of these limitations. They give an authentically Russian "ring" to their stories, and are fanatically anti-socialist, anti-Stalin, and loyal to their masters.

Another source of information is the books by political defectors. These, again, are unreliable and well-known for lies. In addition, both defector and émigré tales are usually told in an anecdotal way, from a very limited viewpoint, with heavy reliance upon third-hand rumor and gossip. Most or all author-defectors were bureaucrats of some kind, and reflect the self-serving attitudes of such petty-bourgeois drones, viciously anti-working class and anxious to build

little careers for themselves.

However, modern bourgeois scholars are not left solely with this dubious material, which would provide meager fare for their anti-communism. The voluminous writings of Leon Trotsky and the Soviet material published during Khrushchev's term as chief revisionist of the USSR also provide much to chew on.

Trotsky.

It is clear even to serious bourgeois historians that Trotsky's works cannot be taken as primary documents—that is, as evidence that certain events of which there is no other record, actually happened. It is even clearer to them that Trotsky's evaluations of events, and particularly his discussions of Stalin and of the circumstances of his own expulsion as a counter-revolutionary, are not acceptable as "history" by bourgeois standards.

Robert H. McNeal, for example, a professional anti-communist historian (he has written for the Hoover Institution) dismisses Trotsky's work as a product of his intellectual egotism and elitism. He describes Trotsky as "a typically self-righteous puritanical **intelligent** (Russian for 'intellectual') who thought "intellectual capacity meant talent for theoretical treatises" (McNeal, "Trotsky's Interpretation of Stalin," **Canadian Slavonic Papers**, 5 p. 89).

> To the end of his life he could not believe that so vulgar a person as Stalin was capable of the most staggering social and economic undertakings or that "history" could continue to suffer such a creature. (p. 97)

So McNeal is disturbed that other serious bourgeois historians have accepted Trotsky's interpretations so completely:

> Rarely has the historical image of a major leader been shaped as much by his arch-enemy as the generally accepted conception of Stalin has been shaped by the writings of Trotsky. (p. 87)

However, the bourgeoisie has no intention even now of dismissing Trotsky as a "historical" source for attacks on Stalin. Stalin was, according to such as McNeal, a good Leninist, who made creative contributions to Lenin's thought and helped the "communizing" of Europe. Attacks on Stalin are attacks on Leninism, and on internationalism, and therefore useful.

Origin of Myth of "Stalinism."

The bourgeoisie has gone to much trouble during the last 50 years to promote a certain image of the character of the Soviet state between Lenin's death in 1924 and Stalin's death in 1953. The image they have tried to create is the myth of "Stalinism." According to virtually every single bourgeois "historian," Stalin was: a totally unprincipled power-grabber; a ruthless dictator completely oblivious to human suffering; a mass murderer with a third-rate intellect, but at the same time a devilishly clever bureaucrat, always able to "stack" any Party committee with loyal servants; an omniscient overlord, who was personally responsible for every policy initiated in the USSR during his "rule"; finally, a psychopath, a "sick" personality who dreamed up policies out of his own primitive fantasies and urges, and who, therefore, was and remains, essentially incomprehensible and inscrutable.

Rogues' gallery: Medvedev (l.) and Salisbury (r.)

The three books examined here are designed to reinforce this myth. Salisbury's work is nothing more than a popularization of much of the material of the Khrushchev era, with a dash of openly capitalist anti-communism thrown in. Medvedev's version of the myth reflects the viewpoint of that large part of Soviet intelligentsia which has been opposed to communism consistently since the Revolution, although indisposed to emigrate, and despite opportunist attempts on many occasions by the CPSU to placate or woo them. Tucker, finally, just presents the logical conclusion of the general "Stalinist" myth. He emphasizes the historical role of Stalin's "sick" personality, and seeks to explain the history of the class struggles in the USSR through a bogus psychological profile.

This myth of "Stalinism" is totally false. The theory of historical causation, the "Will of the Great Man," which it offers has been intellectually bankrupt in capitalist countries for 150 years. As this review will point out, there is virtually no evidence to support any of the elements of the "Stalinist" myth. It is a crude, a very crude, form of anti-communism.

That it is crude does not prevent it from being very influential, however. The bourgeoisie has a

virtual monopoly of the means of propaganda. No one can escape the influence of bourgeois ideas. The myth of "Stalinism" is put out as proven fact by bourgeois historians such as these men. They act as though it were indisputable. Their works abound with phrases such as "as is well known," "it is indisputable that..." and so on. In the mouths of bourgeois "experts" such as these men, this "Big Lie" technique (as Goebbels and Hitler, who understood it very well, called it) is one of the most persuasive of propaganda methods.

The power of the "Big Lie" about "Stalinism" affects communists as well, we who must struggle for a better world while still mired in the swamp of decaying capitalist culture, breathing in the bourgeoisie's rotten lies every day. Fighting capitalist lies, and recognizing the positive contributions of great revolutionaries of the past like Stalin, while learning from their mistakes, is a hard struggle for us. But it is essential to our ultimate success.

Trotsky's great service to the international bourgeoisie—the favor in return for which Trotsky was magnified into a "great historical figure" and lionized by capitalists the world over—was his creation of the myth of "Stalinism" as a bureaucratic dictatorship of one power-hungry individual. During the twenties, Trotsky invented this notion to "explain" how Stalin the uneducated proletarian won greater and greater support within the CPSU, while Trotsky and the other "oppositionists" became increasingly isolated. Incapable of recognizing that he had lost because of his defeatist line, Trotsky could only attribute his demise to Stalin's skill at "stacking" the Party with his supporters. Totally lacking in any understanding of Communist self-criticism (even his admirers acknowledged Trotsky's egotism), he was convinced that no one else was ever right, and that any defeat he suffered must be due to dishonesty. An incorrigible factionalist himself (factionalism survives as a principle in all Trotskyist parties), Trotsky portrayed Stalin as a more dishonest, but essentially similar, factionalist.

Lenin and Stalin, 1922

Trotsky's writings poured out during the 30s and were eagerly published and translated by the bourgeoisie. ALL anti-communist biographers of Stalin from the earliest days have drawn heavily upon Trotsky's work (Levine, Souvarine, Deutscher, Hyde, Payne, Ulam, Tucker, to name a few, and of course Trotsky himself), and he is a major influence on the more "objective" bourgeois historians as well (e.g., E.H. Carr's, **Socialism in One Country,** I, Ch. 4 gives a sketch of Stalin based mainly on Trotsky's views).

Use of Trotsky as Source

Tucker cites Trotsky as primary evidence literally dozens of times (see: pp. 45; 155; 200-202; 203 ff.; 211; 216; 240; 264; 269-76; 277-8; 289ff; 311; 315-319; 320; etc.). He takes care not to agree with Trotsky on every point. Too many of Trotsky's arguments and interpretations have been refuted by bourgeois historians, being simply too crude to pass. No writer making any pretense at serious bourgeois "scholarship" can any longer use Trotsky uncritically. Tucker evidently hopes his projected three-volume biography of Stalin will replace the notorious Trotsky sympathizer Isaac Deutscher's work, which was the most widely read "scholarly" work for twenty years. Deutscher's work has been outdated, not only by his crude reliance on Trotsky (whose admirers and followers grow fewer with passing decades), but by the emergence of a great deal of Soviet material since Khrushchev's speech to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956, all of which came too late for Deutscher to make full use of. However, in attacking Stalin, this material tends to elevate Trotsky "despite itself," as Medvedev admits, who draws the logical conclusions from it somewhat more boldly than the strictly "orthodox" Soviet writers of the day dare to do. So Tucker does not discard Trotsky, but instead embraces him, though with a few minor reservations.

In late 1939 Trotsky, his reputation on the decline, published a sensational magazine article, accusing Stalin of poisoning Lenin. Even anti-communist bourgeois writers at the time recognized that there was no evidence to support Trotsky's accusation. The "evidence" Trotsky cited consisted only of Trotsky's own recollection of a conversation in the presence of Stalin, and of Kamenev and Zinoviev (both executed as counter-revolutionaries by 1939). As Tucker himself remarks, Trotsky's story is contradicted by the journal of Lenin's principal secretary, Lydia Fotieva (in her eighties, Fotieva published her very anti-Stalin—memoirs of Lenin's last years in 1964; here, too, she mentions nothing of Stalin's meeting with the bedridden Lenin any time after his relapse in December 1922). Yet Tucker declares his faith in Trotsky's story: "Whatever the answer, it was not in Trotsky's character simply to fabricate an historical happening."

(Tucker also concludes that Stalin did **not** poison Lenin; no doubt he includes the incident because it puts Stalin in an unfavorable light, actually asking the horrified Trotsky, Kamenev, and Zinoviev whether it ought to be done.)

Tucker relies upon Trotsky for his accounts of several important events. He repeats the hoary tale of Stalin's responsibility for the defeat of the Red Army in the attack against Warsaw in August 1921. Now, there is no unanimity among bourgeois, anti-Stalinist historians on this point. Adam Ulam's crassly unscholarly **Stalin: The Man and His Era** defends Stalin's failure to co-operate with Marshal Tukhachevsky on military grounds. But Tucker uses only Trotsky's own, self-serving account, seconded by a Khrushchev-era collection of essays and by Tukhachevsky's own memoirs (Tukhachevsky was executed during the Army purges of 1938). When faced with explaining why no contemporary account blames Stalin's actions, Tucker is at a loss. He can only cite Trotsky's unsubstantiated allegation that Stalin's attempt to blame another was rejected at a "closed session" (therefore not in the published minutes) of the Tenty Party Congress in 1921.

Trotsky's first sally into factionalism, in open opposition to Lenin, came in the debate over the role of the Trade Unions in 1920-21. In defeating Trotsky's position, the Tenth Party Congress passed a resolution, formulated by Lenin, forbidding factionalism and ordering the disbanding of inner-party groups or factions organized around a particular platform other than the Party's line. Among other things, it was Trotsky's repeated open violation of this basic tenet of democratic centralism which helped lead to his isolation within, and ultimately his expulsion from, the Party.

In dealing with this important debate, Tucker admits, "my treatment of the trade union conflict relies on the detailed accounts in Isaac Deutscher, **The Prophet Armed; Trotsky, 1879-1921** ..." He never says why he chooses Deutscher over other possible secondary accounts. That of the most prominent bourgeois historian of the period, E.H. Carr (in **The Bolshevik Revolution II,** 223-229), is far less complimentary to Trotsky. Nor does he mention that Lenin went so far as to write a lengthy pamphlet against Trotsky and Bukharin (his supporter). And, of course, he does not tell us why he does not himself have recourse to the primary documents, which are all available.

Tucker uses Trotsky as his **only** source to "prove" that Stalin was not in fact regarded as a hero in saving the city of Tsaritsyn from the White armies in 1918. In his account of the battle itself, his only source is a volume of anti-Stalinist military writings edited in the USSR in 1965, during an intense campaign by the present revisionist leaders of the USSR to blacken Stalin's reputation. Tucker never tells why Tsaritsyn was in fact renamed "Stalingrad" in 1925, if Stalin's role was so inglorious. Tucker uses Trotsky as his source for the defense of Petrograd in 1919 against Yudenich's White armies (200-201), accepts Trotsky's (otherwise unattested) tale that Stalin, as well as himself, received a medal for this action only because Lenin wanted to soothe Stalin's feelings, and then concludes that Trotsky was "the savior of Red Petrograd" (478)! Tucker even goes one better than Trotsky. In explaining why Stalin's political line won out over Trotsky's in the inner-party debates over building socialism in the USSR, Tucker blames Stalin for the positions Trotsky adopted!

> He (Stalin) pushed and prodded his prominent opponents into taking positions that he knew would be ill received by a great many in the party. (389)

Thus Stalin even maneuvered Trotsky into taking unpopular positions so he could crush him! What could be more nasty, underhanded, and unprincipled than that!

The British bourgeois historian Christopher Hill finds that rejection of "the Trotskyite myth" is one of the few **strong** points of Tucker's book! (**New York Review of Books,** 1/24/74, p. 9). This is more a statement about Hill than about Tucker. However, it is true in a very relative sense. Tucker takes a little greater care in using Trotsky than, for example, in his use of post-1956 Soviet materials, virtually all of which he swallows whole-hog.

Roy A. Medvedev is a self-styled "Leninist," ex-member of the CPSU. His book, **Let History Judge,** written for a Soviet audience, is superficially somewhat more critical of Trotsky, whose cult within the Soviet Union was never large, and whose counter-revolutionary activities many still vividly remember. So Medvedev gives no testimonials to the honesty of Trotsky's character, for example.

Nevertheless, Medvedev's attempt to blacken every phase of Stalin's political activity cannot help but put Trotsky in a more favorable light. So it is not a wonder that his "analysis" "verifies" some of Trotsky's own conclusions. It also leads Medvedev into some howling contradictions with himself.

Medvedev is anxious to deprive Stalin of any merit in the political defeat of the various "Opposition" groups within the CPSU in the Twenties, of which Trotsky was usually the central figure. This is not the place to discuss these political debates in detail (see the **PL** article "Trotsky—Just Another Right-Winger"). Suffice it to say that their positions were so counter-revolutionary and defeatist that the "Opposition" became completely isolated. Not even Medvedev is prepared to "rehabilitate" them openly. Still, he feels, they could not have been "all bad," if they were the ones leading the attack on Stalin.

For example, Trotsky's attacks on the Party line in 1923-4 centered on the "opportunistic degeneration of the older generation" of Bolsheviks, and on "bureaucratic centralism." By this Trotsky was principally referring to the rejection of his ideas by the CPSU leadership and the reso-

lution of the Tenth Party Congress of 1921 forbidding factionalizing around any platforms.

Medvedev is forced to conclude that "the erroneousness of most of Trotsky's assertions and demands in 1923-4 is obvious today, as it was then.... These statements can be interpreted as political exaggeration, especially when it is remembered that they refer to the conditions of 1923-4"(40). Yet, in the same breath, he asserts that "... some of their criticisms contained a considerable measure of truth;" "... it is impossible to deny that many of these warnings were justified by later events."

So Medvedev wants it both ways: Trotsky, though wrong, was "really" (ultimately) right. In fact, Medvedev thinks Trotsky was the **only** principled critic of Stalin after his exile in 1927. None of the other members of the "United Opposition" spoke out against Stalin. Stalin "was increasingly slipping into adventurism and arbitrary rule, but Trotsky alone tried to continue the struggle" (61). Trotsky's writings in exile were not incorrect; though "one-sided," they contained much "justified criticism."

Medvedev concludes "Trotsky remained a supporter of the proletarian revolution and not a fascist counterrevolutionary, as Stalin soon labeled him" (61). Yet by the mid-'Thirties, as Medvedev admits, Trotsky was advocating Stalin's murder (140). Medvedev never criticizes the decision of the Party to expel and then to exile Trotsky, yet he deplores the fact that some former Trotskyites were arrested in the early 'Thirties for maintaining contact with Trotsky abroad. And, having admitted that Trotskyite circles did exist in the USSR in covert contact with Trotsky abroad, and that Trotsky was advocating Stalin's murder by the mid-'Thirties, Medvedev still finds Zinoviev's confession about his contacts with Trotsky and plot to murder Stalin incredible.*

Finally, when Stalin spoke against persecuting former Trotskyites and restricting repression to active ones in March, 1937, Medvedev can only call it a lie (188). Had Medvedev proved his account true, it no doubt would be. It is certainly incompatible with his unproved contention that Stalin was out to unjustly murder the only constructive critics of his regime.

Bourgeois and revisionist historians admit that Trotsky's writings are valueless as primary historical evidence. The fact that they continue to use them nevertheless, and even come to agree with them, results from the uncompromising hatred of Stalin Trotsky expresses. Trotsky tried to rewrite the whole history of the Bolshevik Party, the Revolution, and the Soviet Union to convince the world that he, Trotsky, had been defeated, not on his politics, but by a criminal and diabolical conniver—Stalin. The ruling classes proved an eager audience then, and they still do. Trotsky's unprincipled anti-Stalinism is a great service to the bourgeoisie, which no sober rejection of his worth as a historical source can outweigh.

Soviet Sources of Khrushchev's era (1956-1965),

In 1956 Khrushchev read a speech to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in which he attacked Stalin at great length. This "secret" speech (which the Soviet leaders had smuggled to the capitalist press beforehand) began an era of "re-evaluation" within the USSR of the whole period of Stalin's leadership.

This new political line of Khrushchev's was gradually developed in books, articles and historical memoirs published by the official press in the Soviet Union. After the 1957 defeat of the "Anti-Party" Group (the minority in the Presidium of the CPSU who tried to remove Khrushchev from power in his absence), several of whom (Kaganovich and Molotov) had been closely associated with Stalin for 30 years, the number of publications attacking Stalin increased.

Thousands of books and articles were published after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in 1961, at which several leaders gave speeches strongly attacking Stalin. Between 1961 and 1965, Stalin was accused of every conceivable crime and incompetence in a flood of publications:

1. Official party histories, of the CPSU and the Parties in the different republics, were written or re-written to reflect Stalin's "crimes." Documents were often cited from "party archives" to back up these accusations (these documents, like those quoted by Khrushchev in his speech in 1956, however, are not open to public scrutiny).
2. Biographies of Communists and others active during the period of Stalin's leadership were published, again often citing "original (but unverifiable) sources" accusing Stalin of every kind of crime and containing harsh attacks on his character, as well.
3. Memoirs of certain more or less prominent Soviet citizens were authorized, which make the same kind of remarks, such as those of the well-known writer Ilya Ehrenburg. Citations from unpublished memoirs of people who were involved in the purges of the 'Thirties, or who otherwise had some contact with Stalin, were published in a large book by Iurii Trifonov, **Otblesk kostra (Reflections of a Bon-fire),** 1966.
4. The military history of the Soviet Union,

*NOTE: The only "evidence" that Zinoviev's confession was forced seems to be that of Alexander Orlov, a former NKVD official who defected in the thirties. This is the source cited by Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, the "definitive" bourgeois history of the purges. Furthermore, in one of his attempts to dissociate himself from more fanatical anti-Communist writers, Medvedev exposes a later article of Orlov's (in which Orlov accuses Stalin of having been a Tsarist secret police agent) as an utter fabrication, containing forged documents and obvious misstatement of historical fact (316-8). Medvedev himself cites no source at all for questioning the sincerity of Zinoviev's confession!

and particularly of the Second World War, was completely re-written. An official, multi-volume history of the War was issued, full of scathing indictments of Stalin's military leadership. Hundreds of war memoirs were authorized which had the same line. A large number of memoirs of military leaders of the Second World War were issued in book or journal form, mainly during 1964-5, which put the blame for most of Russia's military defeats on Stalin's shoulders.

5. A good deal of anti-Stalinist fiction was authorized (Krushchev himself personally authorized the publication of Solzhenitsyn's **One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch** in 1961, which then received very favorable reviews).

6. Several large official conferences of professors and writers of history were called. The new line on Stalin and on Soviet history was expounded, and the texts and minutes published as authoritative "scholarly" guidelines for future teaching and research.

All these publications were used as the basis for a propaganda onslaught against Stalin in the popular media.

In early 1965, Khrushchev was ousted by a clique in the Presidium of the CPSU led by the present leadership (Kosygin and Brezhnev). Almost immediately, the publication of sharp anti-Stalinist material stopped. Some memoirs and books, such as the memoirs of the Soviet admiral of the Second World War, Nicolai G. Kuznetsov, which had appeared in one installment only, took a totally different line on Stalin in the second installment. Other anti-Stalin books which had been favorably reviewed at first came under sharp official attack. Still other "scholars" of the official Party line changed the line in their articles. A campaign was begun in the official Soviet press to "rehabilitate" Stalin, praising him as a wide leader and good general, and reaffirming the guilt of some of those tried and purged during the 'Thirties, while some persons "rehabilitated" under Khrushchev were officially critized again. The official journal **Kommunist** published several articles praising Stalin in 1968 and 1969.

Since the mid-Sixties, then, Soviet and bourgeois historians have been using this material in their books about Stalin and the period of his leadership of the Soviet state. However, even bourgeois historians have recognized that this Soviet material cannot be taken at face value as historical documents. The basic reason for this is that the "documents" on which these "revelations" of Stalin's crimes and inadequacies are based are not open to scrutiny and verification. There is no way of knowing how many of them are outright fabrications or forgeries. (Obviously, Khrushchev and his successors felt their stories might be open to question, because large gaps exist in official documents of all kinds during Stalin's life. The archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU, of the NKVD, and of the Supreme Court of the USSR, for the period 1930-40, have never been released or opened even to Soviet historians. The Stenographic record of the 14th Party Congress; the transcripts of the Central Committee plenums of 1932-35, and of Feb.-Mar. 1937 (those concerned with discussion of the "purges") have not been published.)

The British revisionist historian Christopher Hill states this about the "Khrushchev myth of Stalin":

> To this we owe a great deal of information previously unavailable, but it has to be used with caution. Khrushchev had his own political axe to grind, his own skeletons to keep locked up in cupboards . . . In consequence of all this the revelations were incomplete, one-sided, and need almost as much interpretation as the Stalinist and Trotskyist myths. A great many essential facts about Stalin's life (and death) are still totally unknown.

As another anti-Communist American historian has put it,

> . . . The literature of the de-Stalinization period is used with insufficient attention paid to the particularistic personal and political motives animating much of it (clearly, these are relevant considerations for an assessment, say, of Khrushchev's secret speech or of Ehrenburg's memoirs. (Gitelman, in **Studies in Comparative Communism,** Jan. '69, p. 170.)

Finally, Alexander Werth, in the preface to **Russia at War,** 1941-1945, states:

> . . . I have made extensive use of recent Russian books on the war—most of which might be classified as "Khrushchevite," and **ipso facto** anti-Stalinite. There is, however, a danger taking all these as gospel truth, merely because they are anti-Stalinite.

(Werth goes on to give several examples of deliberate distortions for political reasons in the official Soviet History of the Second World War, published under Khrushchev, and in the memoirs of a Soviet General, who was Werth's personal friend, who also wrote during Khrushchev's years.)

Despite these warnings, however, the Khrushchev era materials are too tempting to be omitted, or even used carefully, by anti-communist historians. **All three of the works under discussion here rely mainly upon them.** Medvedev is simply the most honest when he states:

> This work is based on the numerous Soviet publications that have followed the policy of the XXth and XXIInd Party Congress (1956 and 1961 respectively) in examining Stalin's cult honestly and truthfully.

Harrison Salisbury gives a list of Russian-language sources at the end of his **The 900 Days.** Of the 325 books listed there, only 14 are pre-1956 works, while of the 182 articles he lists, every one is post-1956! Tucker's **Stalin as Revolutionary** which draws more heavily than the other two on non-Soviet sources, and only deals with the period up to 1929, still has over 70 separate references to post-1956 Soviet sources.

None of these three works make any serious attempt to evaluate the accuracy, or trustworthiness of these sources, even to the extent that other bourgeois historians such as Werth or Hill recommend. Tucker simply states baldly: "For an account of the course that history subsequently (i.e., after Lenin's death) took, we may turn to Nikita S. Khrushchev . . ."

In general, as will be seen, all three of these writers accept whatever accounts attack Stalin, and reject those which do not, especially when there is any disagreement in the sources.

Salisbury and Khrushchev-era sources.

In **The 900 Days,** Salisbury mainly uses military histories and memoirs of the Second World War. While using the most viciously anti-Stalin passages uncritically, however, Salisbury is perfectly aware that his sources cannot be trusted. He consistently picks out whichever version of the "facts" can be most easily fit into his overall schema—i.e., that the siege of Leningrad and the deaths of over 1-1/2 million of its inhabitants, were Stalin's fault.

Salisbury recognizes the untrustworthy nature of Khrushchev-era writings. He points out that all mention of the role played by Malenkov and Molotov is omitted from these sources after 1957 (the year of their unsuccessful attempt to get rid of Khrushchev) (307-8). In fact, the same sources omit all but the briefest mention of the role of Andrei Zhdanov, the Party official who masterminded the defense of Leningrad from within, and who died in 1948. (308 n.). Again, he admits that Marshall Zhukov's name is omitted from most Soviet accounts of the Leningrad battle, including the memoirs of Zhdanov's closest associate, Meretskov (629). He admits that the main Soviet source for the actions of the Soviet embassy in Berlin before the war, Berezhkov's 1966 book, omits any mention whatsoever of the name of the Soviet Ambassador to Germany (an associate of Lavrentii Beria's, executed by Khrushchev and Co. in December, 1953). After outlining a theory, derived from published memoirs of Soviet generals, that Stalin had no idea, in the face of incontrovertible evidence on all sides, that the Nazi invasion was imminent, Salisbury then reports that Marshall Semyon Budyonniy, named commander of the Reserve Army by Stalin, refuted this as ridiculous. Nevertheless, Salisbury sticks to the generals' stories, since they accord with his (and Khrushchev's) anti-Stalinist purposes.

The point of this is to show that Salisbury is aware of the limitations and contradictions of the post-1956 sources, and is capable of using them critically, or of rejecting them, when he chooses to do so. That he chooses **not** to do so is simply because they provide too much grist for his mill.

In general, Salisbury chooses to believe Khrushchev-era sources rather than post-1965 sources where the two differ. This is clearly because the former are far more blatantly anti-Stalinist. However, he is equally capable of ignoring both, when it suits his purposes. An example is his zeal to try to show that Stalin suffered a collapse, brought on by fear, after the Nazi invasion of June 22, and did no work whatever until July 12, when he had pulled himself together. The main source for this story of "Stalin's breakdown" is none other than Khrushchev's "secret" speech itself, which was later echoed in other books.

Salisbury makes a great deal of this point in his attacks on Stalin. Inconveniently, however, many accounts do not support it. According to the journals of Marshal Grechko (1966), Zhukov frequently reported to Stalin during the first days of the war. According to an even earlier account (1964, while Khrushchev was still in power), Stalin was directing war production after the Nazi invasion in June, 1941.

Stalin's police record, 1913

Salisbury's response to these sources is to deny their validity: "It does not seem likely, in fact, that Stalin participated in Stavka (General Staff) decisions during this period"; "the conversation with Stalin **must have** occurred much later than June . . ." (167;173).

Salisbury is aware of the contradictions in stories about Stalin's "collapse" in Soviet sources. He notes that the first installment of Adm. Kuznetsov's memoirs (1965) speaks of Stalin's "collapse," while the second speaks of Stalin's "energetic" work on June 22-24 (103; 167). Former Ambassador to London Ivan Maisky's memoirs, published in journal form in Dec. 1964, had remarks critical of Stalin's policies and leadership; all these, Salisbury notes,

were removed by the time of the appearance of the book version six months later (103).

Had Salisbury cared to, he could have checked out some other sources. Part of his argument relies upon the nature of Stalin's public speech, which indisputably occurred on July 3. He describes it, after Maisky's earlier account, as "the effort of a man barely in control of himself" (251-2). Alexander Werth's accounts of the speech (given on the day of his arrival in the Soviet Union) directly contradict this. Werth refers to the deep, patriotic impression it made (142). He quotes Fedyuninsky's memoirs (1961)—a source also used by Salisbury, but not in this context—to illustrate the great effect of encouragement Stalin's speech had on the troops (158). "There could be no doubt about Stalin's authority, especially since that July 3 broadcast. He was the **khoziain,** the boss . . ." (181)

Of course Salisbury is happier with the pre-1965, anti-Stalin Soviet sources than with those published later, which he calls censored and "tendentious" (as though his own book is not!). But he is clearly capable of choosing any source which suits his purposes. He is **least** critical in his use of Khrushchev's own "speech," and such orthodox memoirs as Ehrenburg's, which are said to be least trustworthy by bourgeois scholars (Werth mildly terms Khrushchev's criticisms of Stalin's military abilities "at times even exaggerated," 142). Salisbury does not select his facts according to the reliability of his sources, but according to what he wishes to prove.

Medvedev and Khrushchev-era sources.

Medvedev is similar. Recognizing the contradictions among Soviet sources, he is concerned to choose and believe those which are the most anti-Stalin, regardless of their credibility otherwise.

(Some facts about Medvedev are relevant here. His father was an academic shot during the purges of the late thirties. Medvedev himself joined the CPSU after Khrushchev's "De-Stalinization" speech of 1956, and began working on a long manuscript—the present book—after the 22nd Party Congress in 1961 reaffirmed de-Stalinization, and many anti-Stalin works of an "official" nature began to be published in the USSR. No doubt he thought his work might be officially published within the country. But it was finished too late, after Khrushchev's fall. A letter of his attacking the 1968 **Kommunist** article in favor of Stalin led to his expulsion from the CPSU).

Medvedev is aware of the discrepancies between Soviet sources of the 1956-65 era and those since then. He is a loyal believer of anything Khrushchev or his camp say. He uses Khruschev's 1956 speech, his articles in **Pravda,** and speeches of officials at the 22nd Party Congress of the CPSU (1961) as primary documents many times. It is interesting to note his defense of Khrushchev's account of Stalin's "breakdown," the debate over which has been discussed above.

> All the marshals of the USSR were at the 20th Congress; so were Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, and Bulganin, and none of them found it necessary to correct Khrushchev (457).

Khrushchev, of course, would have welcomed such "correction," had it been forthcoming!*

In general, Medvedev gives no reasons whatsoever for preference for the Khrushchev-era, anti-Stalin accounts—no reasons on historical grounds, that is. He repeats the story of Stalin's fleeing Moscow during the "panic" of Oct. 16, 1941, begun by Khrushchev. This favorite anti-Stalin legend has proven too flimsy even for most anti-Stalinists. Both Alexander Werth (351) and Salisbury (424) conclude it is false, Werth because he was in the USSR at the time and heard no mention of it, Salisbury reluctantly, because even the anti-Stalinist memoirs contained no mention of it! Only Medvedev mentions it as an established fact.

Medvedev is essentially a supporter of Khrushchev's, willing to swallow his lies and anxious to speed the USSR toward more openly capitalist forms of "constitutional" government. He includes in his volume an apology for Khrushchev (by now out of power) which echoes the latter's own views about Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich.

Tucker and Khrushchev-era sources.

Tucker puts himself forward as innovator of a "psychological history" of Stalin. The school of "psychohistory" is a presently fashionable trend in bogus historical writing in the USA. Users of this method feel themselves free of the usual obligations of historical accuracy. Tucker follows this practice enthusiastically.

As noted above, Tucker accepts Khrushchev's 1956 speech as a primary document. He occasionally feels it necessary to justify using earlier Soviet sources however (99). Mainly, Tucker does not work from sources at all. In fact, one of his principal "sources" is Medvedev's book itself. Medvedev's word is good enough for Tucker that a fact is true, that an event actually occurred, even in cases where Medvedev himself simply makes assertions, without any kind of evidence whatsoever. Nor is Tucker ignorant of internal inconsistencies within Medvedev's book (there are so many of them, and they are so glaring, that the American editor of Medvedev's book feels obliged to point several out himself). He just doesn't allow them to make him question the accuracy of Medvedev's statements when it suits his own purposes.

Tucker does go Medvedev one better occasionally, however. In a section of a chapter on Stalin's alleged "connections" with the Tsarist police before the revolution, Tucker picks up on Med-

*NOTE: Kaganovich, Molotov, and Bulganin tried to "correct" Khrushchev by plotting his overthrow in 1957.

edev's account, taken from unpublished memoirs, iat supposedly show Stalin was an informer for ie Tsarist Okhrana (secret police). Medvedev, e notes, thoroughly discounts these stories as /ithout substantiation, and likely to be false, since omposed by strongly anti-Stalin authors (would Aedvedev were always so scrupulous in evaluating iis sources!). After adducing even **more** evidence hat Stalin was **not** connected with the Tsarist police, and adding **no** more evidence that he **was,** Tucker, in a paragraph added after the book went to press, concludes his confused chapter by stating that Stalin, while not a Tsarist agent, "very probably" informed on his comrades from time to time for his own benefit!(114)

Further remarks as to Tucker's efforts at verifying and using his historical sources are superfluous.

Tucker and Medvedev—Use of pre-1956 Soviet sources.

It might be expected that anyone so ready to accept, at face value, the accounts of Khrushchev-era writers (even when they cannot overlook the contradictions and inconsistences in these sources) would be equally unwilling to accept pre-1956 Soviet sources. For Soviet sources published during Stalin's lifetime paint a very different picture of the development of Soviet society, and the international Communist movement, than the documents of Khrushchev's time do. There is a sharp difference in the political line of the Soviet Union before Stalin's death and afterwards, which shows up unmistakably in the documents.

We are not disappointed. Medvedev and Tucker play fast and loose with pre-1956 sources. In fact they do not hesitate to draw conclusions exactly opposite to those which the available sources indicate, when it suits their purposes to do so.

Police search streetcar
(drawing in Tiflis newspaper, 1906)

They do not systematically differentiate between those documents which they deem accurate and others. Their practice is totally unscientific and irregular. Convinced that they are able to "sniff out" falsehood by intuition, Tucker and Medvedev do not blush to use certain sources as evidence in one case, and to discount them in another.

The Attitude of Stalin Toward the "Cult of Personality"

Both writers are anxious to "prove" that Stalin deliberately fostered a cult of adulation of himself. The contradictions they are forced into in their efforts at "proof" clearly illustrate their general attitude toward their source material.

Of course, it is clear from the practice within the Soviet Union after about the time of the 17th Party Congress (1934) that there was in fact a glorification of Stalin's achievements and leadership which went beyond the bounds of Marxism-Leninism. But this is not what Tucker and Medvedev are at pains to establish. What they want to show is that Stalin himself consciously fostered this "cult."

In order to show this, they are forced into what must be termed a travesty even of bourgeois historical methodology.

Their embarrassment comes principally from the fact that they can find not a single statement of Stalin which gives encouragement to the "cult of personality." On the contrary, Stalin consistently criticized both the cult of his own accomplishments, and the glorification of individuals in general as incompatible with Communism. Thus: on pp. 149-50, Medvedev cites passages from Marx, Engels, and Lenin where these revolutionaries express stern opposition to any tendencies toward exaggerated adulation of themselves. Yet he then quotes Stalin's remarks, in an interview with Lion Feuchtwanger in 1937:

> At this point he (Stalin) became serious. He suggested that these (i.e. those who "obviously had taste" and "put up busts and portraits of him . . . in utterly inappropriate places, for example at a Rembrandt exhibition") are people who have accepted the existing regime rather late, and now are trying to prove their loyalty with doubled zeal. Yes, he considers it possible that this could be a plot of wreckers to discredit him. "A time serving fool," said Stalin angrily, "does more harm than a hundred enemies."

Medvedev had accepted, at face value, Lenin's undoubtedly sincere denunciations of any "adulation" of himself—although (Medvedev does not mention this) all parades and Party functions were decorated with large portraits of Lenin, even during his lifetime. Yet he dismisses Stalin's anger as "insincere"; "it was Stalin himself who directed and encouraged this praise," (150) he says.

Unfortunately for Medvedev, the facts seem to

say the opposite. Stalin in 1930:

> That (devotion to Stalin or to any individual) is not a Bolshevik principle. Have devotion to the working class, to its Party, to its state, but don't mix that up with devotion to individuals, which is an inane and unnecessary toy of the intelligentsia. (Medved., 547).

Stalin in 1932:

> I am against it (i.e. the proposal to open an exhibition of documents concerning his own life and activity) because such enterprises lead to the establishment of a 'cult of personality,' which is harmful and incompatible with the spirit of the Party. (Medved., 547).

Stalin in 1938:

> I am strongly opposed to the publication of "Stories about Stalin's Childhood." The book is filled with a mass of factual distortions, untruths, exaggerations, and undeserved encomia. The author has been misled by lovers of fairy tales—by liars (perhaps "honest liars") and timeservers. A pity for the author, but facts remain facts. But that isn't the main thing. The main thing is that the book has the tendency to inculcate in Soviet people (and people in general) the cult of the personality of chiefs and infallible heroes. That is dangerous, harmful. The theory of "heroes and the mob" is not Bolshevik but Socialist Revolutionary. The Socialist Revolutionaries say that "Heroes make a people, turn it from a mob into a people." "The people makes heroes," reply the Bolsheviks. This book is grist for the Socialist Revolutionaries' mill, it will harm our general Bolshevik cause. My advice is to burn the book—J. Stalin (Medv., 507).

Medvedev can only lamely call this "hypocritical" (507).

Similarly, he can only conclude Stalin was "hypocritical," "talked one way and behaved another" when faced with the following statement by Stalin in 1928:

> The fact that the chiefs rising to the top become separated from the masses, while the masses begin to look up at them from below, not daring to criticize them—this fact cannot but create a certain danger of isolation and estrangement between the chiefs and the masses. This danger may reach the point where the chiefs get conceited and consider themselves infallible. And what good can come of the leaders on top growing conceited and beginning to look down on the masses from above? Clearly, nothing but disaster for the Party can come from this. (Medv., 538).

In a similar vein, Medvedev finds evidence of duplicity in Stalin's refusal to put a manuscript of the **History of the CPSU (Short Course)** in a museum:

> Comrade Samoilov, I didn't think that in your old age you would occupy yourself with such trifles. If the book is already published in millions of copies, why do you want the manuscript? To put your mind at rest, I burned all the manuscripts.—J. Stalin (Medv., 512).

Medvedev at one point retorts that Stalin "abandoned such hypocritical disclaimers" after the war, citing Khrushchev's "secret speech" as evidence that Stalin personally inserted praise for himself in an authorized biography (507). There is no need to refute any assertion made solely on the authority of Khrushchev's "secret speech." As for attacks on the "cult of personality," note the following remarks (from **Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR**, 1952):

> 8) Should there be a special chapter in the textbook on Lenin and Stalin as the founders of the political economy of socialism?
>
> I think that the chapter, "The Marxist Theory of Socialism, Founding of the Political Economy of Socialism by V.I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin," should be excluded from the textbook. It is entirely unnecessary, since it adds nothing....

Tucker, too, who is tireless in his efforts to find some kind of "evidence" for the conclusion he has already reached concerning Stalin's egotism, suffers constant frustration by the sources.

> ...in all references to himself and his party past, he presented himself as a good and faithful disciple of Lenin's, no more. So insistent was he on this point that when Ksenofontov in his 1926 letter spoke of himself as "a disciple of Lenin and Stalin," Stalin reproved him for this usage. Call yourself a disciple of Lenin, he advised in reply, because it would be groundless and out of place for anyone to call himself "a disciple of a disciple of Lenin's." Thus, Stalin's theme in the politics of revolutionary biography was discipleship to Lenin rather than partnership with him. (Tucker, 356.)

Tucker also refers to Stalin's talk to the Railway workers in Tiflis (427), in which Stalin firmly refutes any talk about himself as being "a hero of the October Revolution, the leader of the Communist Party...a legendary warrior-knight and all the rest of it," and states "I really was, and still am, one of the pupils of the advanced workers of the Tiflis railway workshops." (For the full text of this document, see **PL Magazine**, Vol. 9, No. 4, March-April 1974, p. 44.)

Stalin had two important opportunities during the twenties to show publicly his attitude towards the "cult of individuals." These were Lenin's

50th birthday celebration in 1920, and his own 50th birthday celebration, in 1929. Stalin's behavior at both of these events is consistent with the statements quoted above in which he shows he held little patience for glorification of individuals, even of Lenin.

Lenin disliked exaggerated tributes to himself, and only arrived at his celebration after the speeches had been delivered. The speeches delivered were fulsome indeed. Maxim Gorki compared Lenin to Columbus and Peter the Great; Preobrazhensky called him "the soul and brain of the October Revolution"; Trotsky (not to be outdone in oratory) called him the Luther and Robespierre (among other things) of Russia.

Stalin alone forbore to join the others on the heights of rhetoric. He recounted two episodes in which Lenin had been mistaken, and had been self-critical about it. Tucker used this as just an example of the tendency of the Party to idolize its leaders. Medvedev tries to make it appear as though Stalin were malicious in his criticism of Lenin. In fact, Stalin was attacking the notion of a "cult of personality," and something else as well. He was illustrating the necessity for openness to criticism, so well illustrated by Lenin's practice. Despite Medvedev's best attempt, his criticism here won't stick. No Bolshevik at the time or since has read any desire at self-aggrandizement into Stalin's remarks. Tucker himself, who uses Medvedev frequently as a source, quietly ignores his tirade here. (505)

Tucker is clearly surprised at Stalin's response to the (once again) fulsome tributes paid to him at his own 50th birthday celebration. It is true that Stalin chose (unlike Lenin) to attend and listen to the speeches. In his response, however, Tucker notes "Stalin's transparent attempt to preserve his modest pose amid the eulogies by pretending that they were really meant for the party rather than for him" (466). Stalin closed by reaffirming his loyalty to "the cause of the working class, to the cause of the proletarian revolution and world Communism."

Despite his best efforts, then, Tucker can only lamely conclude that "as a result of all this, Stalin's enormous egocentricity remained hidden from general view" (444). Well hidden, indeed!

Astounding as it may seem, neither of these bourgeois "experts" can give any other kind of evidence for Stalin's "fostering" the cult of personality (except for Khrushchev's word). And these passages from Stalin's works are too well known to simply ignore. So they are forced to quote them as "psychological" evidence that Stalin was not only egocentric, but a cunning liar as well, always saying the opposite of what he "really thought"! A new principle of bourgeois historical scholarship, no doubt!

One further example from each book (one of many which could be chosen) will have to suffice to illustrate the contempt with which these "scholars" regard their sources.

Attempting again to find evidence for Stalin's megalomania, Medvedev states that

> Engels was also unfairly attacked for his comment in 1891 that a democratic republic was a possible form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The **Short Course** cited this remark as evidence that Marx's idea concerning the Commune as the form of proletarian dictatorship was 'consigned to oblivion' (515).

Now, overlooking the fact that elsewhere in his book Medvedev states that Stalin did **not** write the **History of the CPSU (Short Course)** (511-12) this statement of Medvedev's is an outright lie. The authors of **Short Course** in fact quoted Engels in order to show how Marxism is a living process, not an ossified body of dogma.

> As a result of a study of the experience of the two Russian revolutions, Lenin, on the basis of the theory of Marxism, arrived at the conclusion that the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a parliamentary democratic republic, but a republic of Soviets.... The opportunists of all countries clung to the parliamentary republic and accused Lenin of departing from Marxism and destroying democracy. But it was Lenin, of course, who was the real Marxist, who had mastered the theory of Marxism, and not the opportunists, for Lenin was advancing the Marxist theory by enriching it with new experience, whereas the opportunists were dragging it back and transforming one of its propositions into a dogma. (**Short Course,** 356)

Far from being an "attack" on Engels, the **Short Course** illustrates here how Marxism progresses, and how the hallmark of the opportunists —the Social-Democrats, with whom Medvedev is so much in sympathy—is to adhere to the letter of Marx and Engels, treating them like scholastic "authorities," and not as scientists of revolution.

A similar misuse of sources may serve to illustrate Tucker's shady practice. After a discussion of the anti-factionalist resolution introduced by Lenin and directed specifically at Trotsky at the Xth Party Congress in 1920, Tucker begins to speak of "Stalin's faction," and continues throughout the book (218-299; 411; 435).

This is, of course, totally unjustified, as would be clear if Tucker had dared to quote the text of the resolution, in which a faction is very carefully defined. According to E.H. Carr,

> The word 'fractionalism' became a popular one in party vocabulary during the next few years. It was defined in the resolution as "the appearance of groups with special platforms and with the ambition to form in some degree a unit and to establish their own group discipline." Thus 'groups' were not in themselves illegitimate; 'fractions' were. (Carr, History, I, 207, n. 2).

Lest it be thought that Tucker is using the word "factionalism" and "faction" (which Carr translates into British political jargon as "fractionalism," etc.) in a special way which justifies his usage, let his wording be noted:

> Accordingly, the resolution declared such "factionalism" inadmissible, instructed the Central Committee to root it out, and ordered the disbanding of all party groups formed around particular platforms (Tucker, 218).

Nowhere does Tucker even **try** to show that Stalin tried to organize a "faction" in this sense, around a platform, with a special group discipline. If he had, it would certainly be evidence of dishonesty, for it was one of Stalin's (and others') strongest criticisms of Trotsky and the other "Oppositionists," and was ultimately the reason for their expulsion from the Party.

But Tucker cannot find any evidence that Stalin did so. Therefore, he simply **asserts** that he did. This is anti-communist "scholarship" and "honesty."

II. INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS AND LIES

The cavalier use of sources by these three bourgeois propagandists can be disclosed with a little digging. The internal contradictions in their volumes are even more naked.

Harrison Salisbury does not hesitate to come to conclusions which his own arguments refute. His primary aim is, not to write history, but to slander Stalin. For example, Salisbury calls the Soviet attack on Finland in 1939-40 "brutal." Needless to say, in Salisbury's respect for "national sovereignty," he neglects to mention that the Finnish government was Fascist and pro-German, and that Finland had rejected all diplomatic offers of much larger tracts of northern land to be exchanged for the Karelian peninsula (and that even after the Russian victory, Stalin did not exact any more than he had once offered peacefully). Still, even on the same page, Salisbury admits that the new territory acquired to Leningrad's north gave the Soviet Union valuable maneuvering space, enabling defenses to be concentrated in the south, where the Nazis would attack, rather than (as they had always had to be) in the north, to repel any Finnish invasion. Later on, Salisbury reiterates that this, and the seizure of the Baltic states ("liberated" by the Germans in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, ruled by fascist aristocratic elites, and fanatically pro-German and anti-Soviet) made Leningrad's defensive position "infinitely better than in 1939" (141).

This is a minor embarrassment, however, in comparison with one of Salisbury's major themes in the book—"Stalin's hatred of Leningrad." Salisbury begins by baldly stating, without any evidence (only Khrushchev has ever implied it), that Stalin murdered Leningrad Party Secretary and member of the Politburo Sergei Kirov on 1

Politburo, 1930

Dec. 1934. He uses this to spin a theory of "a persisting fear, if not hatred, of Leningrad on the part of Stalin" (156).

> There were many who thought that Stalin felt that the northern city might challenge, and perhaps had already challenged, his power. Possibly a lurking feeling of inferiority towards Leningrad's superior culture and vivid revolutionary tradition may have played a role in Stalin's attitude toward that city. (162)

Salisbury's only "evidence" for this pathological hatred on Stalin's part is Stalin's (presumably) orders to mine the central Leningrad railway system and all its approaches, in case of a Nazi conquest. This horrifies Salisbury:

> This clearly was Stalin's intention: destroy the city of revolution and march out to final battle with the Nazis... Hitler would have no chance to erase the hated cradle of Marxism from the earth. It would be erased by its creators. (389-90).

And on this tone he concludes the story of the siege as well:

> And so it went. Murderous, suicidal politics came first, before everything. In this atmosphere the death of a man was nothing, the death of a million men little more than a problem in the mechanics of propaganda, **the destruction of a great city a complicated but conceivable gambit in the unceasing game of power.** (663—emphasis added.)

Perhaps. But between these statements, all the evidence Salisbury gives of Stalin's role in the defense of Leningrad points in the opposite direction. **By the very evidence that Salisbury**

cites, it is clear that Leningrad had first priority with Stalin and the Soviet leadership, and that they authorized every possible sacrifice to lift the siege!

Salisbury "clearly" recognizes that Stalin "was clearly under pressure to abandon Leningrad" from some of his commanders. The city was in an exposed position, easy to cut off from supplies (as in fact happened), and the Nazi armies in 1941 were making rapid inroads elsewhere in the USSR. If the Baltic fleet were in danger of Nazi capture it would have to be sunk, and this would make the defense of Leningrad impossible. From a military standpoint, the situation looked grim.

Nevertheless, Salisbury himself catalogs a striking series of moves by Stalin to guarantee Leningrad's defense.

1. On September 12 Stalin replaced Marshal Kliment Voroshilov, commander of the defense of Leningrad, with Marshal Georgii Zhukov. Voroshilov was one of Stalin's oldest political associates. It was Voroshilov whom Stalin had put in charge of defenses of Tsaritsyn in 1919, when he sacked Trotsky's Tsarist commanders and saved the city. Stalin had demanded a counter-attack. Voroshilov had said that it was impossible. His explanations were backed up by Leningrad Party Secretary A. A. Kuznetsov and by Andrei Zhdanov, representative of the General Staff (Stavka) and chief of the Leningrad Military District.

Nevertheless, Stalin relieved Voroshilov for "passivity in the face of the enemy," replacing him with Marshal Zhukov, whose actions proved decisive in saving Leningrad. (370-71). Zhukov's draconian measures—the firing squad for any failure to carry out an order, no matter how dangerous—saved the city from virtually certain conquest in the week of Sept. 12-18, when the Nazi came closest to breaking through to Leningrad. By the 17th, German forces were being pulled back to the Moscow front. The records of the Nazi General Halder showed the Germans were certain that only a siege could take the city. The Germans had over-estimated the men and materiel available for Leningrad's defense, based on the stiff resistance they had encountered in their drive on the city. Zhukov's tactics saved Leningrad.

2. Stalin's plans (if they were his, and not as is more likely, the General Staff's) to destroy Leningrad rather than let it fall into the hands of the Nazis—were proved wise by the recovery of Hitler's plans for Leningrad:

> Hitler insisted that von Leeb (his commander) draw the tightest kind of circle around Leningrad. Secretly, the Fuehrer instructed von Leeb that the city's capitulation was not to be accepted. The population was to die with the doomed city. Random shelling of civilian objectives was authorized. If the populace tried to escape the iron ring, they were to be shot down. (383)

The Nazi directive on "The Future of the City of Petersburg (the Nazis had never accepted the revolutionary name Leningrad)" read:

> 1. The Fuehrer had decided to raze the City of Petersburg from the face of the earth. After the defeat of Soviet Russia there will be not the slightest reason for the future existence of this large city. Finland has also advised us of its lack of interest in the further existence of this city immediately on her new frontiers (so much for the Soviet Union's "brutality" in attacking her "small northern neighbor").
> 2. The previous requests of the Navy for the preservation of the wharves, harbor and naval installations are known to the OKB (Berlin High Command). However, their fulfillment will not be possible in view of the general line with regard to Petersburg.
> 3. It is proposed to blockade the city closely and by means of artillery fire of all caliber and ceaseless bombardment from the air to raze it to the ground.
> If this creates a situation in the city which produces calls for surrender, they will be refused....

This order was reaffirmed, as Salisbury informs us, on Oct. 7, 1941. (465-6)

3. On November 16, 1941, Kalinin (President of the USSR) and Stalin arranged to have special flights of high-calorie food, desperately needed everywhere, to be sent daily to Leningrad, and ordered Zhukov to take an immediate offensive against Tikhvin, to reopen the road to Leningrad. (463-4)

4. On November 30, Stalin personally intervened to order the commander of the Soviet forces near Tikhvin, General Meretskov, to stop making excuses and attack the enemy. Meretskov had been temporizing, complaining of large German superiority in strength. Stalin sent one of his trusted NKVD generals to shake up the Soviet command and guarantee an attack. In the resulting attack, Tikhvin was recaptured by the Soviet troops.

Even Salisbury must admit that "Tikhvin was a real victory" (468).

Alexander Werth, a source which Salisbury uses elsewhere (but not here), states flatly that "By driving the Germans out of Tikhvin and beyond the Volkhov river between December 9 and 15 General Meretskov's troops literally saved Leningrad... Had Tikhvin remained in German hands, it is impossible to see how Leningrad could have been supplied..." (Werth, 309).

From Salisbury's own admission, Stalin and the General Staff were more correct in their estimation of what was possible than those within Leningrad itself!

While not conceding Werth's remarks, Salisbury

is forced to report the words of one of his sources:

> Without exaggeration, the defeat of the German Fascist troops at Tikhvin and the recapture of the Northern Railroad line up to Mga station saved from starvation thousands of people. (Dmitri Pavlov, head of food supplies in Leningrad, p. 477).

5. Stalin intervened again to speed up Leningrad's liberation on December 24, 1941;

> Unsatisfied with the pace at which Meretskov was moving, Stalin sent one of his police generals, L.Z. Mekhlis, to the Volkhov front on December 24. The task of Mekhlis was to chivy and hurry the operation. (559).

But Stalin and the Stavka were anxious not to have the counterattack begin before the Soviet troops were ready:

> On Jan. 10 Stalin and Marshal Vasilevsky talked with him (i.e. Meretskov) by direct wire. They expressed the frank opinion that the operation would not be ready even by Jan. 11 and that it would be better to put it off another two or three days. 'There's a Russian proverb,' Stalin said. 'Haste makes waste. It will be the same with you: hurry to the attack and not prepare it and you will waste people' (559).

6. Stalin consistently supplied more reinforcements and arms to the Leningrad front than could have been expected. In September, 1942:

> Meretskov got more in reinforcements and arms than he had expected from Moscow in the light of the Stalingrad crisis. Stalin sent him 20,000 rifles and tommy guns, although he had asked for only 8,000 to 10,000 (620).

Direct hit on Leningrad apartment by Nazis

In November 1942, Stalin again intervened personally to guarantee massive supplies to Leningrad for a counterattack. Salisbury, in admitting this, calls the armaments provided "probably the greatest concentration of fire power ever assembled—more than the Russians had massed at Stalingrad" (645).

Even within Salisbury's own book, there is no evidence whatsoever to support his contention that Stalin "feared" or "hated" Leningrad, or "contemplated its destruction" as part of a power struggle. Salisbury, like Tucker and Medvedev, is not interested in any conclusions which do not help support his preconceived political line, whatever the facts may be.

III. THE POLITICAL LINE OF THESE WRITERS

Medvedev's Political Line.

Medvedev's blatant misuse of sources, outright lies, and self-contradictions show that he will stop at nothing to attack Stalin. But what is the political line behind this attack on Stalin? And what connection does it have with the "anti-Stalin" campaign carried on since 1956 by the revisionist Soviet leaders?

The political line of Medvedev's book has two aspects. Primarily, Medvedev echoes the political line of the Soviet ruling class, both internal and external. Secondarily, he has some contradictions with their line, which, though they have had some serious consequences for Medvedev himself (he is not able to publish in the USSR, and has been expelled from the "C"PSU), are nevertheless minor in comparison to his unity with the rulers' line.

The Political basis of the anti-Stalinism of the USSR rulers

As noted above, the ruling class of the USSR has engaged in a systematic attack on Stalin almost since the day of his death. They have done this to provide a fig-leaf for their sharp move away from the socialist policies followed, though less and less consistently, in the last years of Stalin's life. Their political line can be characterized briefly as:

1. A sharp move to the right internally in the USSR.
2. A desire to work in collusion with capitalist rulers in other countries (replacing revolutionary struggle with normal capitalist competition, outside the limits of revolution); and therefore a desire to gain respectability in the capitalist world;
3. A turn to naked imperialism, rather than fraternal working-class internationalism, in foreign policy, with the USSR playing the familiar role of exploiter, and various countries (Eastern Europe; Cuba; various "Third-World" countries) as the colonies.

Stalin basically upheld, despite all his errors, a socialist line in all these areas. The specific content of the attack on Stalin and the creation of the myth of "Stalinism" is an attack on the line the USSR held to in these areas during Stalin's lifetime, and its replacement by a bourgeois line, under the name of a "more humane," so-called "Leninist," etc., socialism.

Medvedev's book reflects this line very accurately, on the whole. This is not surprising, since, as we have seen, his major sources are official Soviet documents and studies published since the 20th and 22nd Party Congresses.

Nationalism

Medvedev criticizes Stalin for lack of sympathy with bourgeois and cultural nationalists and nationalist movements as Commissar of Nationalities shortly after the revolution (in this he is only too happy to echo Lenin, who was to the right of Stalin on this issue) (16, 21-2). Stalin is attacked for greatly restricting the sphere of "national" independence and culture, especially with regard to the Ukraine, during the thirties, and for pointing out that it was in contradiction to proletarian internationalism and objectively aided the imperialists.

E.H. Carr noted that the Ukrainian national movement had little or no base among the peasantry or the workers, but "remained the creation of a small but devoted band of intellectuals drawn predominantly from the teaching and literary professions and from the priesthood" (Bolshevik Revolution, I, 296). Giving "independence" to such bourgeois "national" units always ends in dividing workers from one another and justifying the privileges and positions of various "national" elites.

Bourgeois specialists and their privileges.

The internal struggle between the working class and the many petty-bourgeois elements who consciously or unconsciously oppose the workers' dictatorship and socialism, try to retain their own privileges, etc., was cited by Lenin as a matter for unceasing concern for revolutionaries. As the reversal of the revolution in both the USSR and in China has shown, this **internal** danger is the **main** danger to a workers' state. The history of the USSR since 1917 is one of struggle against, and ultimately capitulation to, bourgeois ideology **from within.** NEP, while necessary as a "breathing space" for the exhausted Soviet Union to recoup itself, was nevertheless recognized by Lenin and the Party as a temporary retreat. It was followed by the titanic internal struggles of the campaigns for industrialization and collectivization.* The "purges" and trials of the 1930s involved petty-bourgeois elements almost exclusively, whether in the Party, in the economy, or in the military. During the weakening of internal class struggle under the incorrect slogan of "national unity" for the War effort, these elements made great inroads in every aspect of Soviet society and soon gained the upper hand. Stalin's last years were largely taken up with an unsuccessful attempt to mount a struggle against the forces which, at his death, moved to consolidate their hold on the whole society.

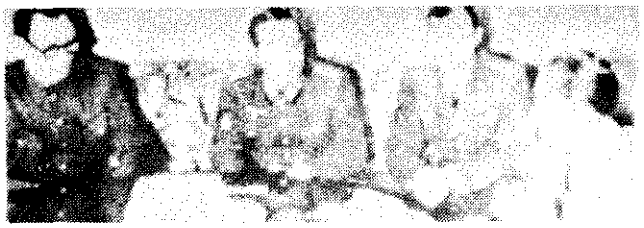
Medvedev criticizes Stalin sharply for his suspicions of petty bourgeois experts in all fields, military, technical, and intellectual. Though this is not the place for a full discussion of the purges of the thirties, it is clear that many mistakes were made in handling the contradictions among the people within the USSR, and that Stalin must share the responsibility for these errors. It is also clear that, even as Medvedev admits, there **were** plots and deliberate acts of sabotage, as well as groups of conspirators with clandestine connections with Trotskyite, "White" emigre, and imperialist groups abroad. Medvedev is critical of Stalin for his suspicions of bourgeois experts, and feels they should have been given much greater leeway than they were (12-13; 110-11; 137; 209-214).

Closely connected with this is Medvedev's attack on Stalin for insisting that class struggle becomes sharper within a country after a revolution has occurred (475). Though inconsistent (Stalin said on several occasions during the thirties that classes and class struggle had been liquidated within the USSR), Stalin basically upheld the correct view that class struggle continued and even intensified after the revolution.

In this Stalin echoed (inconsistently) Lenin:

> The exploiters can be defeated at one stroke ... But except in very rare and special cases, the exploiters cannot be destroyed at one stroke ... (Lenin goes on to enumerate the old ruling class's material advantages which it retains even after its initial overthrow). In these circumstances, to assume that in a revolution which is at all profound and serious the issue is decided simply by the relation between the majority and the minority is the acme of stupidity, the silliest prejudice of a common liberal, an attempt to **deceive the people** by concealing from them a well-established historical truth. This historical truth is that in every profound revolution, the **prolonged, stubborn** and **desperate** resistance of the exploiters, who for a number of years retain important practical advantages over the exploited, is the rule. (**The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Selected Works,** Vol. 3, pp. 63-4)
>
> The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this **hope** turns into **attempts** at restoration ....

*Unpopular (in different degrees) among the peasantry and petty bourgeois elements generally (including many in the Party), but supported enthusiastically by the working class.



Logical conclusion of anti-Stalinism: Vlasov meeting with Nazi propaganda chief Goebbels

> In the train of the capitalist exploiters follow the wide sections of the petty bourgeoisie, with regard to whom decades of historical experience of all countries testify that they vacillate and hesitate, one day marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution; that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, grow nervous, run about aimlessly, snivel, and rush from one camp into the other . . . . (ibid., 65)

Of course Medvedev does not recognize the struggles within the Soviet Union during Stalin's lifetime as examples of "class struggle." They are just the acts of one "despot." No class struggle, just "acts"—a new category in "Marxist" historical thought.

Khrushchev and the Soviet rulers after him have not attacked the purges of the thirties because of the injustices and errors made at that time, nor from any love of "justice" or "humanity." These butchers couldn't care less about the lives of thousands of people, any more than could the U.S. rulers or any other ruling class. What Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Co. dislike in the thirties is the Leninist notion of the continuation of sharp class struggle against bourgeois ideology, the struggle to overcome petty bourgeois class elements and preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since it is precisely the petty-bourgeois "experts" and bureaucrats—the privileged elite within the USSR, such as the intellectuals Medvedev represents—who are the greatest mainstay, internally, of their rotten political line (despite some contradictions, about which more later), the new rulers try to smear all Stalin's attempts to struggle with and against these elements.

Material incentives.

Medvedev's criticisms of Stalin's sharp class struggle in the countryside during the collectivization movement in 1929-31 echo those of the present Soviet ruling class. Despite all errors and difficulties, the collectivization movement of these years established collective and Soviet farms. Without them the great strides made in rapidly industrializing the USSR during the 1930s could not have taken place.

The collective farms were popular among the poor peasantry. Even during the Nazi occupation, collective and Soviet farms were rarely abolished, though this was the main promise made by the Nazi to the peasantry to try to enlist support.

After Stalin's death, Khrushchev began the policy of giving larger and larger "private" plots of land to peasants on the collective farms, and giving them wider and wider latitude to spend time on them, and to sell the produce at market prices far above the prices of collectively-produced goods. He and the Soviet chiefs after him have deliberately cultivated and renewed a capitalist spirit, and a capitalist market economy in the countryside. This has been "justified" under the name of "material incentives." (The Chinese ruling class has been doing the same thing.)

Therefore, one of Stalin's worst sins, according to Medvedev (and Khrushchev) was his lack of sympathy with capitalist "material incentives" for production, especially in the countryside (487; 512; 420-1).

Internationally, as well, the brunt of Medvedev's criticisms of Stalin reveal his support for the bankrupt, anti-working class policies of the Soviet leadership.

Support for the "national bourgeoisie."

Medvedev attacks Stalin for the thesis that the bourgeoisie has abandoned the struggle for national liberation, and that only Communists can lead it. This is the theory which formed the basis for the Chinese Communist Party's practice, as they acknowledge.

Stalin did not recognize that the concept of "national liberation struggle" itself is revisionist (see **Road to Revolution, III**). But his position was on the left of the struggle within the international Communist movement at the time. Medvedev cites Canada, Mexico, and Chile as countries where the "national" bourgeoisie are playing a "progressive" role!

Stalin exposed the myth of the "Third World," or "neutrality," as a fake. He correctly attacked Sukarno and Jawaharlal Nehru as imperialist agents. This infuriates Medvedev and his Kremlin cronies, who are using these nationalist leaders' successors and others to gain economic colonies for the USSR rulers. Sukarno, Nehru, and all their ilk attacked Communists and workers viciously.

Medvedev attacks Stalin and Mao Tse-tung for advocating armed struggle and insurrection, "peasant wars of the Chinese type," instead of "broad national struggles" (522-3). Stalin is also accused of having neglected the revisionists' favorite line, "the struggle for peace and equal rights among nations" (523).

That is, Medvedev points out how the USSR's

foreign policy under Stalin followed a basically different course from that under Khrushchev and since. Stalin's line was much more internationalist and revolutionary, whatever errors it contained. The new Soviet rulers, who do all they can, from Korea to Vietnam, to smother the flames of revolution, try to discredit Stalin's foreign policy by attacking Stalin personally.

"Shared Power" and the Social-Democrats.

The new Soviet rulers are thoroughly against revolution. Instead, they promote the idea of "sharing state power with the bourgeoisie." This policy had its origins in the "United Front Against Fascism" line of the Seventh Comintern Congress of 1935 (before that, "united fronts" with the S-D's were confined to joint demonstrations or other actions, and were restricted in other ways as well). Immediately after the Second World War, also, Communists entered governments in France and Finland, among other countries. At that time, however, the honeymoon proved brief; the French bourgeoisie soon threw the Communists out. In 1947, the Comintern was reestablished in a weaker form as the "Cominform," as part of Stalin's belated strategy to revive the spirit of class struggle and internationalism abandoned in large part during the war for the sake of "unity" with the Allied powers.

Stalin had always been a sharp critic of phony socialism or "revisionism," especially of the so-called "Second International" of the Social-Democratic parties of Europe. In the period immediately following the First World War and the Russian Revolution, the German and French "socialist" parties were the strongest opponents, not only of the new Soviet state, but also of any kind of workers' struggles in their own countries. Time and again (as in the Kiel naval revolt of 1919 in Germany) the workers hoisted the red flag and appealed to "their" "socialist" party leaders to help them in the revolution, only to be betrayed.

It should be pointed out that many bourgeois historians, such as Seston Delmer (**Weimar Germany**) blame the German social-democrats for making the deals with the German General Staff and ruling class which greatly facilitated the rise of fascism in Germany.

Today the Soviet rulers eagerly seek alliances with these phony socialists, with whom they have so much in common. Therefore, they—and Medvedev—viciously attack Stalin for his hatred of them.

Stalin was only following in Lenin's path when he made the rejection of alliances with Social-Democrats a principled issue within the Communist International. In Lenin's day, during the formation of the Comintern (1920), the Soviet Communist Party made it a prerequisite of membership in the Comintern for a party calling itself Communist to attack, and refuse any alliances with, the local Social-Democratic party. Stalin attacked Trotsky and the "opposition" factions within the CPSU during the twenties as both objectively, and later deliberately, aiding the Social Democrats in their attacks on the USSR.

All this calls forth the sharpest attacks from Medvedev, who assails this "isolationist" line (52; 67; 124; 254; 518-9). Like his Kremlin bosses a strong proponent of the "good" ruling class line, Medvedev is a cringing admirer of "bourgeois democracy."

> This hostility to all forms of bourgeois democracy had its own logic for Stalin. Constantly violating the elementary norms of any democracy instead of developing a proletarian socialist democracy, Stalin could not acknowledge any positive value in bourgeois democracy. (439)

As elsewhere, this is really an attack on Lenin masquerading as an attack on Stalin. Lenin constantly attacked the sham of bourgeois democracy.

> Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor . . .
> Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard that the more highly democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers? (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," **Selected Works, 3,** 55, 57.)

Stalin's revolutionary line against Social Democracy was reversed at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 (see **RRIII**). It is interesting that Medvedev views the results of this Congress as very positive, and even hints that Stalin may have disagreed with them, since (1) they contradicted long-held views of his, and (2) he did not speak at the Congress (440).

Medvedev in general criticizes any attempts to sharpen class struggle with the ruling classes of the Western capitalist countries, and develops the notion of "shared power" for these countries as the only goal (443; 471). In addition, he defends Khrushchev's slogan of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism, and attacks Stalin for not having anticipated it, including for his support of the North Korean army when attacked by the South under Synghman Rhee (479; for the fact that the South, not the North, started the Korean War, see I.F. Stone, **The Hidden History of the Korean War,** Monthly Review Press). In general, Medvedev blames Stalin for the "cold war," and shows much more trust of the capitalist ruling classes.

Criticism of "Rapid Industrialization" policy.

The major internal struggle within the Soviet Union during the 1930s was the struggle for in-

dustrialization. This alone enabled the USSR to withstand the attack of the Nazis and repel it. It was a great inspiration to revolutionaries around the world. They could point proudly to the fact that an industrialized socialist society could be built by relying entirely on the efforts of the people, without massive influxes of foreign capital, and under conditions of encirclement by hostile capitalist powers. No country since the 19th century had been able to industrialize at all, being prevented by capitalist penetration from doing so; those few who made some strides towards industrialization were nothing but colonies for imperialist investment (Canada).

None of this was accomplished without a fierce class struggle within the USSR. The bourgeois historians never tire of attacking this class struggle, greatly exaggerating its weaknesses while belittling its tremendous advances, in order to dissuade the working class from ever trying this again. They especially want to persuade intellectuals that the imperialist countries are needed for their capital to "help" the underdeveloped countries. The Soviet Union, since Stalin's death, has joined the ranks of those capitalist countries which want to "help" underdeveloped countries industrialize, by taking over their economies.

NOBODY HERE BUT US FREEDOM FIGHTERS

From **Alexander Dolgun's Story:**

"Almost no one I knew who died, or lived, in Dzhezkazgan, had committed an offense that would be recognized by the law of any country with a democratic parliament and a tradition of loyal dissent. They were innocent men. (pp 253,54)

"...I soon found that both men had indeed been the equivalent of mayor in those considerable cities [Odessa and Zhitomir], and because they had stayed in their posts running their cities during the Nazi occupation, they had been convicted of collaboration and treason and sentenced to twenty years. I made friends with Marusich and discovered that he was still in politics: in camp he was one of the key figures in the Western Ukranian 'community' and a sort of [anti-communist] underground leader..." (pp. 356,57)

Therefore, Medvedev and the Soviet revisionists sing in unison of the "distortions" and horrors of the industrialization movement during the thirties. The Soviet Union's line since Khrushchev has been to force the ruling groups in countries where the USSR predominates to stop attempts at rapid industrialization. They want such countries to become "colonies" of the USSR, supplying the USSR with (basically) raw materials, in return for manufactured goods. In other words, they are looking for sources of cheap materials, and for markets for their industries—like any imperialists.

In the last years of Stalin's life, Tito's Yugoslavia was excluded from the Communist movement. One of the basic issues involved was the question of rapid industrialization, without seeking economic "aid" (read: imperialist penetration) from the West. Tito opted (and still does) for Western "aid" and for private ownership of the means of production to a large degree—i.e., for exploitation of Yugoslav workers. Stalin was correct to call him a traitor to socialism for this.

With Stalin's death, the Soviet Union's line changed. Khrushchev began to demand that Eastern European countries stop attempts at rapid industrialization, and forced exploitative trade arrangements upon them. This went hand in hand with his attack on Stalin, as the Chinese leaders recognized. Khrushchev welcomed Yugoslavia back into the fold in 1959. Khrushchev stopped Stalin's policy of economic and technical aid to China to help her industrialize, pulling out all Soviet technicians by 1961. During the 1960s, the USSR leaders gradually forced Castro to stop trying to diversify the Cuban economy away from total reliance upon sugar. The result was the disastrous push toward a one-crop economy, the "10 million ton" fiasco of 1968-69, and Cuba's total dependence upon the USSR's purchasing her sugar at above the world market price. Cuba is now heavily in debt to the USSR, which is able to enforce political adherence to the USSR's line politically. Cuba has given up support for South American revolutionary movements, supported the Soviet invasion of Czechoslavakia, and most recently has been forced to send soldiers to fight for the Soviet-backed MPLA movement in Angola—to become an international catspaw for Soviet foreign policy.

Praise for Revisionist Leaders.

Medvedev goes out of his way to absolve the post-1956 leaders of the Soviet Union from any of the "blame" for Stalin's "errors." He praises Khrushchev mainly for his attack on Stalin, "an indisputable service that will never be forgotten" (350), and dutifully attacks only those members of the Presidium in Stalin's time whom Khrushchev ousted himself in 1957 (Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich). He repeats speeches of Soviet leaders such as Khrushchev and Shelepin as the truth (see above; also 345). Finally, he draws a distinction between Stalin and the present "leaders":

...Stalin had to bring into the leadership people of another type. They were comparatively young leaders who supported Stalin in almost everything but were not informed of many of his crimes. Though they shared certain characteristic faults of Stalin's entourage, they also wanted to serve the people. They lacked sufficient political experience to analyse and rectify the tragic events of the Stalinist period, and some of them perished towards the end of it. But others survived, and after Stalin's death gave varying degrees of support to the struggle against the cult. (417)

In all essential points, Medvedev's criticism of Stalin reflects accurately the line of the CPSU under Khrushchev. A few words should be said, though, about Medvedev's present position as a "courageous" dissident.

Khrushchev was ousted from leadership of the CPSU and the USSR in early 1965. Since that time, criticism of Stalin under official auspices has been drastically toned down. Books and articles have appeared in which Stalin's achievements have been cautiously praised. Memoirs which had only partly appeared by 1965 have been "retouched" to reflect the new line (this is not to imply that they were any more "truthful" when first published, under Khrushchev). Yet the general line of the USSR, with respect to economics internally, and internationally, has scarcely changed at all since 1965. How is this to be explained?

It appears that the present leaders of the CPSU agreed with the general direction of Khrushchev's political line, but sharply disagreed with his methods of carrying it out. Khrushchev was too crudely imperialist and anti-communist to provide an effective "front" for the turn toward capitalism internally and toward imperialism internationally. His assaults on Stalin antagonized many within the USSR who remember the heroic achievements of the thirties and forties.

In addition, Khrushchev allied himself with certain forces who were more openly anti-communist than himself. This threatened (1) to unmask the intentions of the regime as a whole; and (2) to destroy Soviet hegemony over the "Communist" movement, and thus to undermine Soviet imperialist foreign policy. It particularly threatened to drive countries engaged in struggle against imperialism—and the sixties was an era of tremendous anti-imperialist struggle—into the arms of the Chinese.

For these reasons Khrushchev had to go. Since then, there has been an attempt to "rehabilitate" Stalin within the USSR, but in form only—to stifle internal criticism—back toward internationalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Zhdanov, leader of Leningrad during siege

Noske, German social democratic leader, bragged about selling out Kiel naval rebellion

Medvedev basically represents one of those forces Khrushchev allied with. He still supports policies which the present Kosygin-Brezhnev clique reject, such as:

1. The theory of "polycentrism," or independence from Moscow of Communist parties. First put forward by Palmiro Togliatti in the fifties, this was tolerated by Khrushchev in seeking allies against the Chinese, but is vigorously opposed by the USSR leadership today, who want to use their "Communist" movement as support for Soviet imperialism. Medvedev approves of "polycentrism" (478), and criticizes Stalin for re-establishing the Cominform, something that—in form only, of course,—the present Soviet leadership would be happy to do, if they could.

2. Medvedev goes so far in his admiration for the bourgeoisie that he supports (in a guarded manner) the proliferation of opposition parties within the USSR, and criticizes Stalin for too much "centralism" in his leadership of the CPSU. The present revisionist leadership wants no talk of any "democratic" challenges to their authority within the USSR (379, 381-3). Medvedev supports the existence of "opposition" within the CPSU, even of factions, and the present leadership wants none of this (387).

3. Medvedev wants a "free press" established so that all views may be aired. That is, he wants to have the bourgeois and fascist forces within the Soviet intelligentsia published without restriction (368). This would be bad enough for the new bosses. But it would also liberate the real Communist forces within the USSR to begin to organize and build an opposition from the left—and they cannot permit this.

So, Medvedev, and other right-wing intellectuals enamored of the Western brougeoisie, are on the outs with the present ruling clique in the USSR. They keep kicking up a fuss, however, and have greatly strengthened their ties with the Western ruling classes since Khrushchev's overthrow.

Their books are regularly published in the West; manuscripts are smuggled in and out, a whole underground system of "samizdat" or private publication is in operation. This organized, and often (in the case of Andrei Sakharov or Aleksandir Solzhenitsyn) perfectly open alliance with the Western ruling classes and the CIA, is a hindrance to Soviet bosses' aims. So they try to suppress it to some extent. But this should not be confused (as Medvedev does) with a real "rehabilitation" of Stalinism. For if the dictatorship of the proletariat were really being exercised within the USSR, these imperialist agents would not be getting the relatively lenient treatment they get.

Political Line—Salisbury

Salisbury and Tucker are engaged in writing propaganda for a political line. All historical writing, of course, has a political line. In this respect Salisbury and Tucker are no different from any other bourgeois historian. But reality and historical facts, do not support the political line the U.S. ruling class and these two writers, are trying to push. In fact, both Tucker and Salisbury have to deal with the embarrassing fact that the documents and available evidence really show something quite different from what they want to prove.

SLING US ANOTHER ORDER OF ANTI-STALINISM—EASY ON THE CRAP

"Furthermore, what if the tsarist documents on which the book is based should turn out to be a clever forgery?* That would be a disastrous blow to the entire cause of discrediting Stalinism. For at this moment the introduction of any false note in the anti-Stalin campaign might cast doubt even on the incontrovertible facts about the Stalinist terror." Was Stalin a Tsarist Agent? (review of Isaac Don Levine's **Stalin's Great Secret** . **New Leader**, Aug. 20, 1956.)

*Editor's note: It was!

These two writers are not writing to provide strategic information for the bourgeoisie itself. For this purpose the ruling class supports research professors and institutes which are much more sophisticated. Reams of professional "sovietology" studies are published every year. Tucker and Salisbury basically do not even use this material, not because it is not anti-Communist, but because it is not so much aimed at **convincing** the reader of the evils of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Rather, it is intended to show the already loyal imperialists how to understand Communism and to stop it.

Salisbury and Tucker are aiming at the "educated" petty-bourgeois intellectuals of the capitalist countries. Their hope is to be accepted as learned "experts" whose judgments are valid at face-value. They aim to persuade intellectuals —who are hurt more and more by capitalism, and many of whom feel attracted to communism—that they should never trust "Stalinists," and never ever ally with the "ignorant" workers, whose support for Stalin was always the most firm (see Medvedev, p. 430, for admission of this fact).

This is the reason for Salisbury's concentration on telling the story of the siege of Leningrad from the point of view of the intellectuals, particularly the writers and artists, of the city. Socialism is never as popular among this class of people as in the working class. Salisbury gives many examples of how they hated Stalin, and even wished for a Nazi victory:

> She (Anastasia Vladimirovna) smiled sarcastically at the oratory of Lyubov. She had never bothered to conceal her hatred for the Soviet regime. With the onset of war she saw for the first time hope of rescue from the Bolsheviks.
> Yelena Skryabina shared not a few of Vladimirovna's sentiments. But she was wise and experienced... Yet she knew that such a defeat might well be the only way of ending a regime which was cruel, eccentric and vicious. (Salisbury, 149)

Salisbury tells his story from only two kinds of viewpoints—those of army men, drawing upon the Khrushchev-era military memoirs; and those of the intellectuals of Leningrad. Many Leningrad intellectuals **were** hostile to socialism. Many more were subjective, fearful, isolated by their profession from other people, and therefore give, in their account, a very defeatist impression of the struggle within the city. Anna Akhmatova, a Tsarist-era "vanguard" poet who was never socially involved at all, whose husband had been shot in 1921 as a "White" agent, turned to God in hopeless despondency. Marina Tsvetaeva killed herself on being evacuated from Leningrad and from her son. Others, like Olga Berggolts, wrote only about their worries:

> Vishnevsky noted that even so fine a woman as Verd Inber (an older writer with a little more backbone) could not resist delicately "sticking a knife in the ribs" of her fellow poet, Olga Berggolts, for writing "minor, sad, old-fashioned" poems about the blockade. (640)

This same Vishnevsky is pictured as enraged when the government refused to publish a play about the blockage in which the Party representative, a Commissar, was portrayed as a fool.

Salisbury has many personal friends among the anti-communist intelligentsia of Leningrad. He tries to portray the siege through their eyes. The purpose of this is to make "intellectual" anti-communism palatable to Salisbury's audience. This is, in the main, American intellectuals, who

Cheka members. Banner says 'Death to the enemies of the proletariat'

might be expected to have a "middle position," neither for nor against the Soviet regime, and to identify with their Soviet counterparts. But Salisbury stacks the deck. We never hear from the large number of Soviet intellectuals who supported Communism. Only one of the writers he follows was even a member of the Communist Party—Olga Berggolts, a thorough opportunist. Imprisoned briefly during the thirties, she was later treated in a privileged way, being commissioned to write the poem engraved on the memorial to the victims of Leningrad. This great hater of Stalin did not refuse the Stalin literary prize in 1950, but was heaped with honors for her anti-Stalinism during the late '50s and '60s (see her obituary in the **N.Y. Times,** Nov. 15, 1975).

Salisbury does not hesitate to stoop to the crassest snobbery in his attack on Stalin:

> There were few Leningraders **of intellectual capacity** who would not have viewed the overthrow of Stalin with emotions ranging from grim satisfaction to unrestrained delight. (156—emphasis added)

That is to say, the "stupid" workers loved Stalin, but the "smart" intellectuals knew better. Generally, though, his elitism is more sophisticated. He tries to write for people who view themselves as "neutral" or "patriotic" rather than socialist, devoted only to themselves and to their "art."

Salisbury's main aim is, in shooting at Stalin, to hit the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He blames all the errors of the war, firstly on Stalin, but mainly on the lack of "constitutional government":

> But the Soviet experience reveals that neither the quantity nor the quality of intelligence reporting and analysis determines whether a national leadership acts in timely and resolute fashion . . . . Unless there is a clear channel from lower to top levels, unless the leadership insists upon honest and objective reporting and is prepared to act upon such reports, regardless of preconceptions, prejudices, past commitments, and personal politics, the best intelligence in the world goes to waste—or, even worse, is turned into an instrument of self-deceit. This was clearly the case with Stalin. Nothing in the Bolshevik experience so plainly exposed the fatal defects of the Soviet power monopoly as when the man who held that power was ruled by his own internal obsessions. (87)

In this he does not differ at all from Medvedev, who is similarly enamored of Parliaments.

Tucker's political line

The audience of Tucker's book is the same as that of Salisbury's—American intellectuals. Tucker is a professional popularizer of attacks on Marx, Lenin, and socialism. His books are scoffed at even by bourgeois historians (e.g. **Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx**), but widely assigned for courses in political science and history. Politically, Tucker is a critic of the present U.S. ruling-class tactic of "detente" with the USSR. His recent article in **Commentary** (published by the American Jewish Committee), a conservative intellectual journal, proposed that the U.S. should be prepared to go to war in the Middle East over oil in the near future. The article had been rejected by **Foreign Affairs,** the official house organ of the ruling-class Committee on Foreign Relations, where detente is still the watchword.

Tucker concentrates upon a "psychohistorical" study of Stalin's personality. "Psychohistory" is simply nonsense, a thin excuse for fabricating "truths" and facts out of thin air. What Tucker really concentrates on is the notion of "one-man dictatorship." He makes Stalin's "personality" the key to understanding Soviet history:

Anna Akhmatova

> Here, then, was an historic instance—neither the first nor the last—in which a leader's personality acquired critical importance. (483)

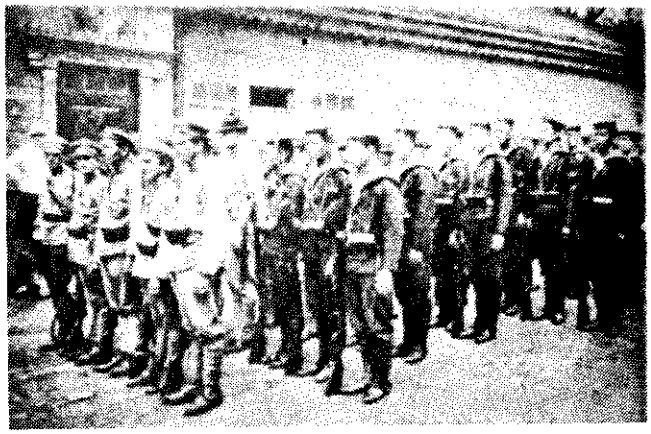
But once again, in aiming at Stalin, Tucker is really intent on hitting Lenin and the concept of a Communist party operating by democratic centralism:

> ...the outcome—Stalin's rise and later autocracy (this word was the Tsars' description of their powers)—has its explanation in the nature of Stalin, **in the nature of Bolshevism as a political movement,** in the nature of the Soviet regime's historical situation in the 1920s, and in the nature of Russia as a country with a tradition of autocracy and popular acceptance of it. (XVI, emphasis added)

Like Medvedev and Salisbury, Tucker not surprisingly has a strongly elitist view of history. According to him, the "Russian people" (by this he means the peasantry) were predisposed toward autocracy and despotism, except for the "middle class," which Tucker says was too "dispersed" (3-4). As usual with Tucker, he immediately admits that the opposite may well have been true, that by 1900 the peasants were "open" to non-Tsarist agitation, the intelligentsia more and more monarchist (6).

Tucker tries to derive Lenin's understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the philosophy of the Russian terrorists of the late nineteenth century. These men, called "Russian Jacobins," were basically petty-bourgeois anarchists with a disdain for the masses (except in theory), a great respect for authoritarianism (they really wanted a "great man," like Napoleon, to rule benevolently), and a conspiratorial, rather than mass, theory of change. Lenin never had any truck with them or their theories except within the pages of Tucker's book. But Tucker finds a quotation in a book attacking Lenin by the early revisionist and émigré Valentinov and accepting it as the truth, makes Lenin get the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat from these terrorists! (Valentinov hated Lenin, and the feeling was mutual; Lenin smashed his inane revisions of Marxism in **Materialism and Empiriocriticism,** 1908.) As usual, Tucker later admits that Marx developed the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but sticks to his original theory. Lenin is made to derive **What is To Be Done?** from this "Russian Jacobin" idea of the "great men." Tucker completely slanders and distorts Lenin's book, making it a plea for a "party of heroes" (27). Centralism (24) and the concept of relying on the masses (22) Tucker has Lenin take from the "Jacobins" and from the Narodniks, or populists (**against** whom Lenin directed his earliest writings—see "Who are the 'Friends of the People'?", 1895). Tucker finds the idea of a "charismatic" (read: superman) leader there, too (32).

From terrorist-monarchists, to Lenin, to Stalin —it's a simple progression for Tucker. Leninism not Stalinism, is the "byword for tyranny" for Tucker!



Czech & U. S. soldiers, Japanese & British soldiers: imperialist armies defeated in Vladivostok, 1920

The Continuing Fight for Socialism

When the new Khrushchevite anti-Stalin line was announced in 1956, most of the existing Communist parties accepted it, after a more or less brief period of internal turmoil. The approval of Khrushchev's all-out attack upon the entire period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR showed how rotted with revisionism the 'Communist' movement had become. Even before Khrushchev spoke, internal capitulation to bourgeois politics—nationalism, pacifism, fear of the ruling classes, different "justifications" for maintaining privileged elites, lack of reliance upon the working class—had made great inroads in all parties.

Khrushchev's speech touched off a sharp debate within the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Although the same revisionist notions infected the Chinese leadership, solid ties with the common working people had been built over decades by millions of rank-and-file communists. In the mid-1950s, the Left forces, united with the poor peasantry, were making strong advances through the mass-led Rural People's Commune movement. These Left forces sharpened the struggle against revisionist policies and ideas and obtained some influence within leading positions in the Party. These forces recognized, however imperfectly, that the denunciations of "Stalinism" were carbon-copies of the bourgeois anti-Soviet line, a mask for the rejection of the fundamentals of Communism: the dictatorship of the proletariat; the need for a democratic-centralist, working-class led Communist party; revolutionary proletarian internationalism. Hesitantly at first, then more firmly under pressure from the mass-based

Left forces within and Khrushchev's neo-imperialist foreign policy externally, the CPC attacked the Soviet line.

The so-called "Sino-Soviet dispute" which grew up around the Chinese defense of Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat led to the worldwide exposure of Soviet revisionism. The internal debate stirred up within China over this stimulated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) of the 1960s, as Left forces within China began to recognize the same revisionist forces and tendencies in their own country as they saw and attacked in the USSR.

The forces on the right within the Chinese leadership also learned from the Soviet revisionists and imitated them. They dumped the openly Khrushchevite types from the leadership, as Brezhnev and Kosygin had dumped Khrushchev himself. They relied especially on using the "cult of personality" around Mao to mask their subversion of communist principles, as had been done by the right in the USSR.

The Left in the GPCR was defeated, but not before it had involved and affected literally millions of workers and peasants. The recent widespread strike movements in Hangchow and elsewhere show that working-class based left-wing forces are still organizing and fighting internally in China. The sellouts in the leadership have been forced to dump a few of the more extreme rightists (like Teng Shao-ping) temporarily, but are basically becoming more blatant every day. This can only lead to increased left-led struggles.

The Progressive Labor Party was born in struggle against the revisionism of the old CPUSA in the period of Khrushchev. Our party was molded ideologically by the Chinese struggle against revisionism, and sharpened by the successes and failures of the Left in the Cultural Revolution. All this really began with Khrushchev's "secret speech" of 1956, an attack on Stalin.

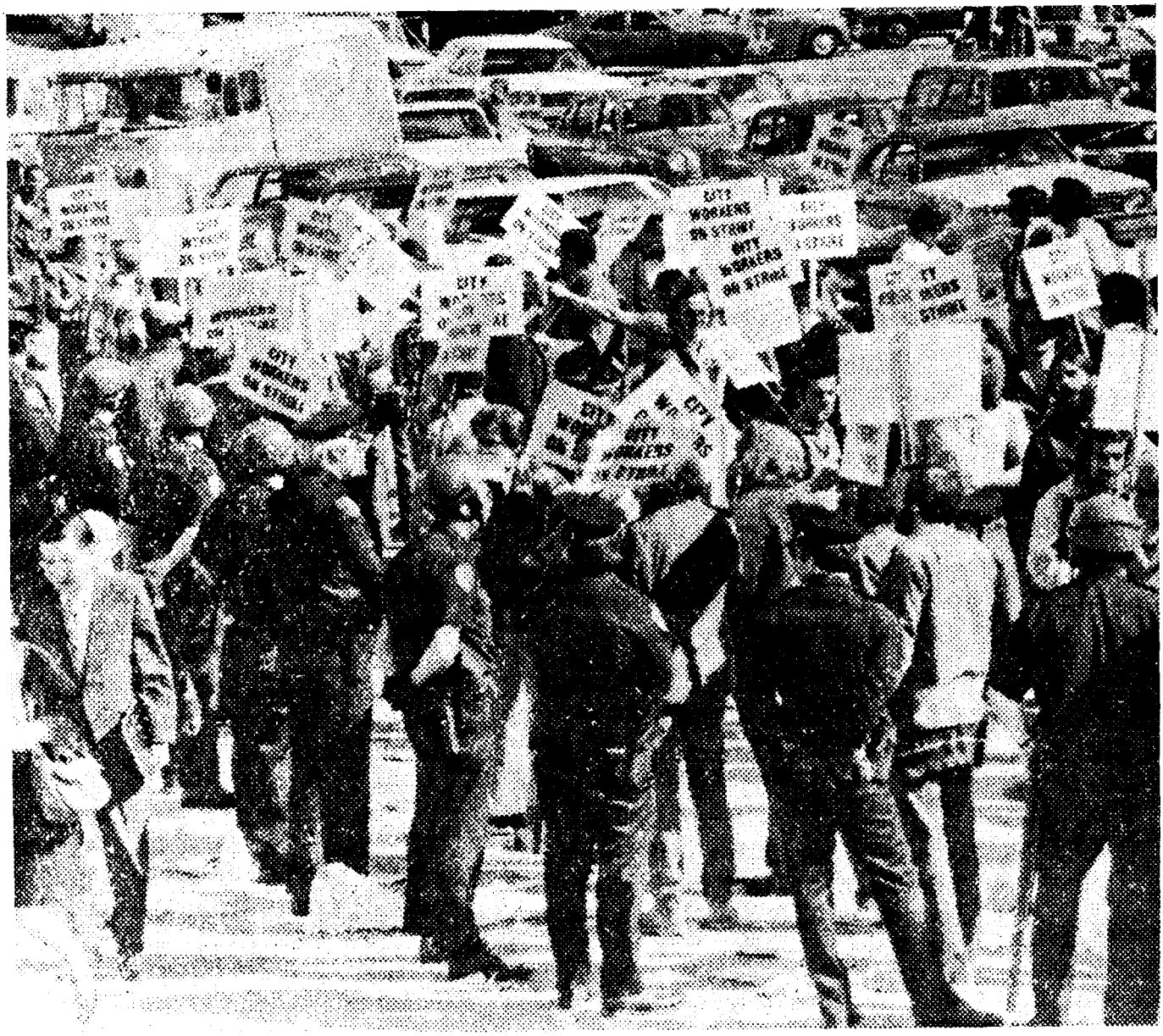
So the question of Stalin's legacy, his successes and failures, is an extremely important one for our party. Since this is so, it behooves us to study and defend this legacy.

We **need** not, and **must** not, "apologize" for Stalin. Bourgeois historians have created the myth of "Stalinism." They have done so by the kind of shoddy lies, tendentious arguments, and utterly unproven assertions that these three books are based upon. Medvedev, Salisbury, and Tucker are **typical** of what passes for scholarship about Stalin. The bourgeoisie hates Stalin. But they do not hate him for being "responsible for the deaths of innocent people." Since when do the butchers of Vietnam and the murderers of ghetto rebellions in the U.S., the supporters of the CIA, of fascist, murderous regimes from Greece and South Korea to Chile and Israel—since when do they care about killing innocent people? The bourgeoisie hates Stalin **for the revolutionary aspect of his legacy.** It is **that** which they want workers and intellectuals everywhere to reject.

So long as there is no concerted, Left-led opposition to the ruling class, the ruling class will be able to use intellectuals as judas goats in their bloody plan for world domination. Capitalism's daily business-as-usual dwarfs Stalin's error. Let us not forget that these errors were nothing compared to the great Communist gains throughout Stalin's life.

Under Stalin the first socialist state was built and industrialized. The imperialists and their "scholars" will never forgive him for that. It is for us to give the correct evaluation of Stalin, as we build the revolutionary Progressive Labor Party and the fight for a working-class dictatorship in the USA.

San Francisco Strike



The Lessons

The thirty-eight day San Francisco city workers' strike was closely observed across the nation as a test of strength between organized labor and the capitalist class. This strike was one of the first major attempts by organized labor to take a stand against the recent wave of pay cuts, layoffs and cutbacks in social services.

The strike revealed major weaknesses in the labor movement as well as strengths. In this article we will examine these and discuss what must be done to make the labor movement strong enough to successfully beat back the intensified attack by the capitalist class.

HISTORY HAS NOT STOOD STILL

During the great depression in the early 30s the American working people were unable to mount any great resistance to the drastic wage cuts, layoffs, evictions and general impoverishment inflicted on them. The destructive class-collaborationist policies of the American Federation of Labor officials had left the workers unprepared to fight back effectively. It took the leadership of the Communist Party to turn this situation around.

In 1976 during the early stage of yet another capitalist crisis resistance is already mounting against the bourgeoisie's new attempt to destroy the labor movement and drastically lower the standard of living of the working class. Progressive Labor Party is already leading or playing an active role in the class battles on many fronts.

Today we are faced with a problem similar to one faced by workers in the early 30s. Once again we are handicapped by incompetent and corrupt leadership while our trade unions are under fierce attack. During the long post-war period of imperialist expansion, U.S. labor bureaucrats to a large extent were able to help the bosses confuse masses of workers with capitalist ideology.

Due to comparative prosperity the capitalists were more willing to grant certain economic concessions to large unions in return for political support—especially support for the bosses' aggressive imperialist policy abroad and anti-communist policy at home. So, without revolutionary leadership, organized labor won important new material benefits for workers.

Today U.S. imperialism is declining and organized labor is under fierce attack. At the same time democracy and militancy have long-since been virtually destroyed in many unions by corrupt leaders who can no longer get anything for workers by simply going along with the bosses' political program.

However, history has not stood still. After the great working class battles of the late 30s, the defeat of fascism in the 40s, the civil rights struggles, the ghetto rebellions, the anti-war movement and the recent exposures of government corruption at all levels, the American working class knows who to fight and knows it must fight. The working class has the capability and the will to dump the reactionary trade union leadership.

It is up to the PLP to build a communist movement in the unions and to provide the necessary organizational and political leadership which will give the working class hope of victory.

CLASS STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES IN S.F.

Communist leadership was urgently needed during the recent city workers' strike. Due to rotten trade union leadership, the city workers were unable to decisively beat back drastic pay cuts ordered by the capitalist politicians. This strike taught masses of workers that class enemies leading the labor movement are the biggest obstacle to victory.

However, this strike displayed the power of the working class. For thirty eight days the city transit lines along with water and electrical repair services were completely shut down. The sewage treatment system was crippled. Airport services were slowed down. Streets were clogged with trash. Downtown businesses lost over $20 million as tourism was stifled, shopping curtailed and deliveries and clerical services were severely disrupted.

Throughout the strike the masses showed the desire and will to turn the city craft workers' strike into a general strike. Politicians, cops, and the media were unable to stop the move toward a general strike, but the saboteurs posing as labor leaders managed to do it. The bureaucrats made numerous empty threats to organize a general strike, but they were unable and unwilling to do so. They only wanted to give the appearance of leading the struggle to avoid being swept aside by the rising tide of rank-and-file militancy. All significant action in the strike was organized by PLP members and other rank-and-file militants.

This thirty eight-day strike was just one further escalation in the class struggle in S.F. Future battles will become more frequent and more violent.

The struggle between city officials and city workers has dramatically intensified with the decline in the economy, with inflation and the sharply rising costs of maintaining the city government and services. In the spring of 1974, all city services were shut down during a ten-day strike as most city workers won a $40 a month increase in pay and a dental plan. PLP and friends played an effective role in this strike, organizing militant picket lines and demonstrations which denied the labor bureaucrats the opportunity to sell out before the strike began.

The city officials, led by the S.F. City and County Board of Supervisors launched legal attacks against the gains with "tax-payer law-

suits" litigated by individuals connected with the Chamber of Commerce. These lawsuits delayed the pay raises for over one year.

In the meantime the Chamber of Commerce, which buys and sells politicians and dominates city government, intensified its on-going media attack against city workers. This attack in its most virulent form was a racist campaign of slanderous lies against mainly black street sweepers and black Municipal Railway operators (S.F. transit workers or "Mundi" drivers).

Almost daily the Hearst press, the **S.F. Examiner** and **Chronicle**, along with the major radio-TV networks editorialized against "lazy street sweepers who get $17,000 a year and want more." In fact a typical street-sweeper earns about $12,000 a year.

Muni railway operators were castigated for being hostile and vicious in their treatment of passengers. The front pages were splashed with trumped-up, lurid tales of Muni operators idly ignoring racial attacks against white bus and street-car passengers.

These black workers were used as scapegoats for a sharp decline in the quality of city services as budget cuts increased. And the public was being manipulated to clamor for pay cuts for these workers. These and other unionized city workers were alleged to be the main cause for the steep rise in the property tax for home owners.

Actually the miserably low property tax assessments of the downtown real property and high rise buildings is a major cause for the increasing tax burden on homeowners. Also the financial institutions loaning the city money are making tremendous profits. The local and state politicians also refuse to seriously look for new sources of tax revenue which would place the burden on wealthy individuals, partnerships and corporations where it belongs.

The state government could take the lead and pass new tax laws hitting corporations and the wealthy with new and higher income taxes, business license taxes and others. Of course at the federal level the tremendous waste of our tax money and the easy tax shelters and escapes provided for the rich are well documented and well known. Suffice it to say that the billions of dollars required for the new B-1 bomber program now being debated in Congress would cover the cost of financing many San Francisco budgets for many years.

In the fall of '74 a Barbagelata-championed ballot proposition to take away "excessive" benefits for Muni operators was narrowly defeated. Barbagelata and his racist cohorts on the Board claimed that Muni operators are unduly privileged because they receive city-paid medical insurance and pensions.

What a trump card state power is for the capitalist class! During the last three years of struggle between city workers and the Chamber of Commerce, the businessmen have had their agents on the Board of Supervisors place anti-labor legislation on the ballot time and time again.

PLP is for collective bargaining. No group of workers should be forced to have their livelihood jeopardized by the whims of the capitalist-controlled media and political opportunists. There were many discussions of this by the strikers. Many asked, "How come the Mayor and the big executives don't put their salaries on the ballot?" One militant gardener said, "Let's put everything on the ballot—the price of rent, food, health care, education, everything." "Hell, let's have socialism," said another.

During this period labor officials "leading" the city workers' unions began to whine about no longer being consulted (or coopted) by the city officials. They made little or no attempt to counter the bosses' political attack with a public information campaign—or any other kind of campaign. Although they made threats, they stopped short of dropping their political and financial support for the city politicians. At a later date during a labor rally just before this year's strike, Joe Mazzola, head of the Plumbers Union, in an angry, frustrated voice, told a large crowd of crafts workers, "What can we do? We have to keep spending our money looking for friends on the Board of Supervisors. I'll always be gullible."

The cost of running the city is rising and there is a limit to how high home owners' taxes may be raised. The city is already deep in debt to the financial institutions which exploit municipal bonds. The ruling class desperately needs to increase profit rates at the expense of workers. To do this trade unions must be stripped of power.

S.F. big businessmen like their counterparts everywhere else can no longer afford the luxury of a cozy relationship with the corrupt hacks who run the AFL-CIO. Their economic situation forces them into openly attacking working people: cutting pay, laying off thousands, increasing taxes and cutting social services.

In the summer of 1975 the supervisors, in an unprecedented move, announced that they could not afford pay raises for police and firemen, in accordance with the formula for pay rates established in the city charter. The cops reacted angrily with an illegal and violent strike. Heavily armed and drunken cops walked picket lines, vandalized city property and made random attacks against private citizens. It is interesting to note the class hatred which manifested itself against the cops. All over the city sporadic acts of violence occurred as people physically attacked striking cops.

After a three-day strike, the Mayor intervened and gave the cops their raise. This unpopular strike gave the politicians more ammunition to use against other city workers. With the help of the media they cleverly characterized these goons as typical city workers and called for political action against them. In the fall of 1975 several propositions against city workers were placed on the ballot by the Supervisors who raised the specter of "another New York."

Some of these propositions were aimed at striking policemen, but the important measures were aimed at the "craft workers," street-sweepers, gardeners, plumbers and other construction and maintenance workers. These craft workers had been guaranteed by the City Charter pay and benefits equal to the union rates for labor in private industry.

Proposition "B" on the ballot reclassified the craft workers as miscellaneous workers and took away their automatic parity with workers in private industry. It passed by a 2 to 1 margin.

On the same ballot, Barbagelata, campaigning against "giveaways" to city workers, was narrowly defeated in the Mayor's race by George Moscone, a liberal State Senator backed by the AFL-CIO and the liberal bourgeoisie. Supervisor Kopp, originally elected on an anti-busing platform, now campaigning for fiscal "responsibility" and wholesale cut-backs aimed at city workers, was re-elected by a sweeping margin.

A word here about City Charter provisions governing the rates of pay and benefits enjoyed by thousands of city workers including the firemen, the crafts and the 1900 Municipal Railway operators. Various Charter amendments had virtually guaranteed these workers fairly decent pay and benefits. One of the few remaining of these provisions was enacted in 1968. It says the Muni operators may be granted pay and benefits equal to the average of the pay and benefits enjoyed by workers in the two highest paying transit systems in the country.

These pay-setting Charter provisions are effectively used to sap militancy and promote class collaboration. Collective bargaining becomes completely legalistic and unions become bland negotiating agencies which are an extension of management. The Transport Workers Union (TWU-250A) which represents the Muni drivers, secured steady increases in pay and benefits for its members for a period of six years without a single strike.

This system has two detrimental effects on the morale of the workers. The complacency and class collaboration weakened the workers' ability and will to fight for decent job conditions. At the Muni, with little or no resistance from the union, speed-up was intensified in the form of run cuts and reduced running time on operating schedules; industrial injuries and accidents increased as equipment was allowed to deteriorate. Harassment and discipline grew harsher.

This system also left the rank-and-file virtually unprepared to fight back against the city bosses' economic attack. If it were not for the presence of PLP and other rank-and-file militants who organized caucuses and committees, there would have been no organized resistance to the bosses' attacks.

Now economic necessity has dictated an end to the cozy relationship between big business and city officialdom on one hand and trade union bureaucrats on the other. After the passage of Proposition "B," as negotiations for the city labor contracts for 1976 began, the bosses' labor lieutenants were no longer in with the in crowd.

As members of PLP and a few others recognized, a new stage of class struggle had developed on the S.F. labor front.

SEIU SELL-OUT UNDERMINES SOLIDARITY

The deadline for passing a salary standardiza-

City gardener discusses issues with school bus drivers, who supported picket line

tion ordinance for all the city workers except Muni drivers, cops and firemen was April 1. A Joint Council of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) locals represented the majority of the workers—approximately 16,000 social workers, clerks, librarians, hospital workers, traffic controllers, janitors and others. Building trades or crafts unions represented the remaining 2,500—the plumbers, electricians, carpenters, laborers, gardeners, mechanics, and sewage treatment plant workers.

The labor officials time and time again announced publicly that they would not sit still for pay cuts, lay-offs, or new harsh work rules called for by the politicians. Throughout March at all union meetings they loudly promised to organize a determined city-wide strike. A united front of all city unions would be formed. And if this should fail to win, they were prepared to seal off the city, shut-down all economic activity with a general strike of all workers. On Feb. 26 Muni drivers' leader, L.B. Martin, warned the supervisors that the city could be on the verge of its "bloodiest" strike since 1934.

So we were told. And unfortunately so the workers were duped into believing. Even many PLP members were taken in by all the militant talk. Because of this we failed to give the rank-and-file adequate warning of the time-dishonored treachery of the labor bureaucrats. This was perhaps the most crucial weakness of the rank-and-file. It is clear now the bureaucrats were cynically adopting a militant pose to avoid being pushed out of the way by the rank-and-file who wanted action.

In early March the SEIU Joint Council leadership organized a rank-and-file strike preparation committee. This committee, open to volunteers from all city unions, was charged with making preparations for the "hard struggle ahead." This committee met several times and rank-and-file activists enthusiastically made organizational plans for mass picketing, public relations, building labor solidarity, and fund raising.

Essentially this committee was cynically used by the leadership as a device to co-opt rank-and-

TV COP SHOP

Taking it from the top
Kojak bald cop
Swat cop Hondo Hawaii cop 5 0
Harry O hired tired ex-cop
Columbo dirty socks raincoat cop
crippled Ironsides cop
blind Longstreet cop
Blue Knight bumper cop crop Bronc vet cop
& a rookie Danko smiling Adam 12 cop

Mod Squad cool cop Starsky Hutch cop
cowboy McCloud cop
McMillan married with his wife's mama cop
Apache Nikita cop
Chinese Kung Fu cop
Angie lady undercover
black Shaft cop

Streets of bignose buddy buddy shagcut San Francisco cop
& Super Duper Bert cop
funny Barney Miller co
Dirty Harry Serpico Popeye cop
federal Ef-frem Zimbalist Jr. cop
Jack Webb jock cop
Cannon roly-poly ex-cop gourmet
& Grandpa Barnaby ex-cop Jones
& Average Joe Mannix Joe Forester Jigsaw John Switch cop

& street people cop wit da disco dialogue
Berreta and if ya ever

Got stopped by the cops
whopped-bopped by the cops
fed slop by the cops
got a ticket
walked a picket
saw red
got hot
got
dam near shot
dead does it matter
who's fatter or bald or cool
or who breaks the rules plays the fool
from Honolulu or imported pork from N.Y.?

in the day or dark
like the snout of a shark
black-and-white black-and-white
with the swirling red light
badge gleams no dream
man in dark blue
"Wanna talk to you"
Wanna run wanna flee 'em
Got the gun
(trembling shaky)
"PUT YOUR HANDS WHERE I CAN SEE 'EM!"

file militants. It was a sandbox to keep the activists occupied while a total capitulation before the city bosses took place.

We placed too much trust in the union hacks' "plans" to seriously fight back against the cut backs. We were suspicious but not totally convinced of their dishonesty. Consequently we did not organize properly and well enough in advance to prevent the sell out.

In 1974 we out-maneuvered the sell-outs with relative ease. In 1976 they were prepared for our earlier tactics. They sold out before a confrontation situation with the city developed. We were basically unprepared for this.

The majority of the SEIU-represented workers are low-paid minority and female clerical and hospital workers. The labor movement had done very little to raise these workers' job conditions, or pay and benefits anywhere near the standard enjoyed by the crafts workers who, except for the street sweepers, are predominantly white. The labor leadership cleverly exploited the resentment of these workers against the bigger AFL-CIO unions with their history of racial discrimination, corruption and male-chauvinism.

While they made bold speeches at meetings about labor solidarity, the SEIU leaders organized behind the scenes against going on strike. "We've got to avoid a strike at all costs," groups of workers were told by Vince Courtney, Executive Secretary of the SEIU Joint Council, as he visited the work areas. His business agents and other flunkies did the same thing. They stacked a "rank-and-file" Negotiating Committee with their right-wing cronies.

Meanwhile the craft unions' representatives were being subjected to very rude treatment by their erstwhile political allies—the Board of Supervisors. With the passage of "B," labor contracts were to be determined by collective bargaining rather than by application of standard legalized pay formulas.

The supervisors flatly refused to meet with the labor leaders. As the contract deadline approached, they hired a $3,000-a-month negotiator, Patrick Mahler. Mahler scheduled a series of ten and fifteen minute meetings with each labor leader in which he read a statement of the city's bargaining position.

There was no discussion of contract terms; Mahler simply gave them the city's "first and final" offer and told them to take it or leave it.

Gone was the back-slapping camraderie of class-collaborationists. The crafts unions were handed pay cuts ranging from $1014 per year for streetsweepers to $4732 for plumbers.

The labor bureaucrats reacted angrily, demanding face-to-face negotiations with the politicians. Their "general strike" speeches grew more bellicose. A labor rally was called for March 22, a date coinciding with a Board of Supervisors' meeting.

The SEIU Strike Committee made plans to have the workers march from the rally to City Hall to confront the Supervisors.

The SEIU, with less money and therefore less political clout than the AFL-CIO craft unions, had been receiving even worse treatment from the politicians. The Civil Service Commission was calling for harsh new work rules (speed up), a longer work week, and thousands of lay-offs. For over two years, there had been a hiring freeze and a reduction of the work force through attrition. This policy had of course, already brought about speed-up and worsening public service in all departments.

The SEIU leaders "boldly" announced their list of contract demands which included healthy pay raises, better working conditions, improved benefits, and a shorter work week. But on the weekend of March 20-21, the SEIU Negotiating Committee, giving up all its demands, quickly settled with the city.

The actual terms of the settlement were kept unclear. In their desperate haste to avoid a strike the negotiators signed a memorandum to accept the city's offer before the offer was typed in its final form. A set of handwritten notes of the negotiations was the basis upon which the SEIU representatives settled.

The 1,000 workers attending the "labor solidarity" rally on Monday evening of March 22 were less than inspired when they were informed of the SEIU settlement. The craft workers knew their bargaining position was weakened by the SEIU sell out.

Cheered on by the rank-and-file, all the labor leaders had been promising, "No one will settle until all unions are satisfied. We will all stay out together and go back together."

The SEIU members did not know what they had settled for. The negotiators declared they had won 3-10 percent pay increases and had "successfully avoided a strike."

Tuesday, March 23, the city announced their pay package included $13 million in raises for city employees with $4.5 million in pay cuts for crafts workers.

Six days later on March 29, after "a closer look," city accountants put a surprisingly low $2.2 million price tag on the new city wage bill. A modest $6.7 million in raises went to 16,000 workers (including fat raises for top executives in city government; the Mayor received over $3,000).

Wages for crafts were cut by $5.4 million. The city bosses had taken a closer look at how incredibly weak and disorganized the unions, especially the SEIU were. The SEIU pay bucket had a hole in it. The SEIU had lost about $1 million a day between the time it "settled" and the time the wage bill was announced.

The "liberal" Mayor openly discussed mass layoffs and further cut-backs in services. It turned out that the difference between the liberals' and conservatives' programs for the city was one of form rather than substance. Liberal Moscone apologetically signed the pay ordinance drafted by the conservatives.

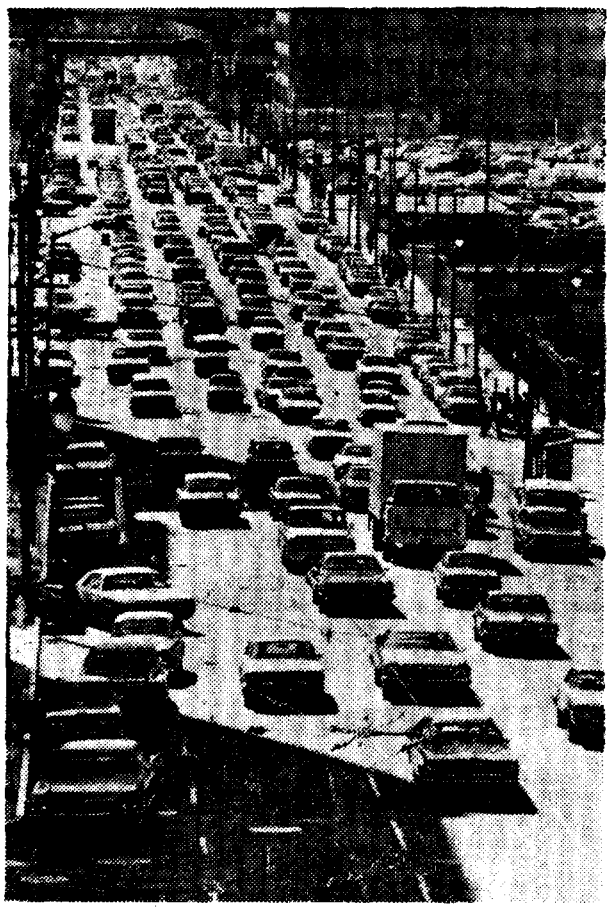
The crafts leaders told their members they

would never accept the pay cuts. Additionally, at the request of the Chamber of Commerce, the supervisors had placed a new anti-labor City Charter Amendment on the June ballot—Proposition "E," which called for the dismissal of any city worker who strikes or honors a picket line of other city workers. This too was unacceptable, the union leaders said.

The labor leaders called on the Board to be friends again. They said all that was necessary was face-to-face negotiations and the misunderstanding could be cleared up.

By March 29, after extended negotiations, the supervisors refused to rescind the pay-cuts and added a scab clause or "yellow dog" provision to their demands which prohibited crafts workers from honoring anyone's picket lines. Some observers felt the city was deliberately provoking a strike to gain the opportunity to completely smash the craft unions which were being isolated.

THE STRIKE BEGINS



Muni walkout clogged the streets

On April 1 craft workers' picket lines were thrown up in front of all city institutions and facilities. All park and recreation facilities were closed; Golden Gate Park became dry without its customary water.

All street cleaning, gardening, electrical, plumbing and other maintenance and repair projects were stopped.

Pickets closed the city's Hetch Hetchy power plant near Yosemite in the Sierras. On April 5 pickets halted most of the city's school buses, cutting school attendance by about 25,000.

Fire hydrants flooded intersections and dozens of traffic control lights began blinking red instead of alternating red and green in regular intervals. Overflowing garbage from city-owned trash cans began piling up on sidewalks.

The symphony cancelled three concerts, and attendance at Giants opening day was hurt by pickets and lack of stadium workers.

Most significantly the Muni railway was completely shut down. On March 28 the Muni operators, realizing their own interests were at stake, voted to support the strike and honor craft worker picket lines in front of the bus barns. The Muni drivers' contract will expire in July.

Actually the Railway could not run for long without the services of the city electricians and mechanics and other craft workers who kept the dilapidated trolleys, street cars, cable cars, and diesel buses more or less running.

Thus shopping, deliveries, and transportation were seriously disrupted. Stranded were tens of thousands of commuters who work in the high-rises of the financial district of S.F.—the Western headquarters of U.S. imperialism. Thousands of white collar workers in the banks and insurance companies came to work late, left early or didn't show up at all.

A few days later the city's largest taxi company, Yellow Cab, also was struck as was Golden Gate Transit which brings thousands of suburban commuters from Marin County to S.F.

For thirty-eight days the 250,000 people who ride Muni daily had to find other transportation. Massive traffic jams ensued, business was down 25 percent during the strike.

Attempts were made by rank-and-file militants to shut down city hospitals and schools. Everywhere clerical and other workers, with the connivance of the SEIU officials, crossed picket lines.

In a show of support on April 1 rank-and-file Teamsters stopped all deliveries and halted all ground traffic from the airport for two hours. Throughout the thirty-eight days airport facilities were without lavatory service, heat or hot water.

A week before the strike the S.F. Labor Council joined by Harry Bridges of the ILWU and Jack Goldberger of the Teamsters had announced that they saw the city workers' dispute as one in which the interests of all organized labor were at stake. Therefore, they said, if the city bosses persisted in their union busting tactics, they would be forced to shut down all economic activity in the city with an air-tight general strike.

Workers in all unions supported this statement of policy. (It is amazing to what lengths the officials would go to appear to be militant and to deceive the rank-and-file.) The picket lines were spirited and well attended while general strike

Trash piled up in front of City Hall

talk was in the air.

After the strike began, Harry Bridges was never heard from again. Goldberger and the Teamster leadership said they had just concluded their national contract and they could not afford to strike. They called a union meeting and told their members to vote the dictates of their conscience on the question of strike support.

Without the support of the Teamsters and the Longshoremen hope of a general strike was nil. With the other city workers refusing to support the craft workers' picket lines in front of the city hospitals and office buildings the strike was weakened from the start.

Furthermore the rest of the AFL-CIO had backed away from the promise of a general strike. Tourism is S.F.'s biggest industry. The President of the Labor Council, Joe Bilardi, is also President of the Hotel and Culinary Workers Union. Had he thrown his weight behind the strike, victory was possible. When confronted by a delegation of angry Muni drivers he explained his lack of support for the strike by saying, "I wasn't born yesterday."

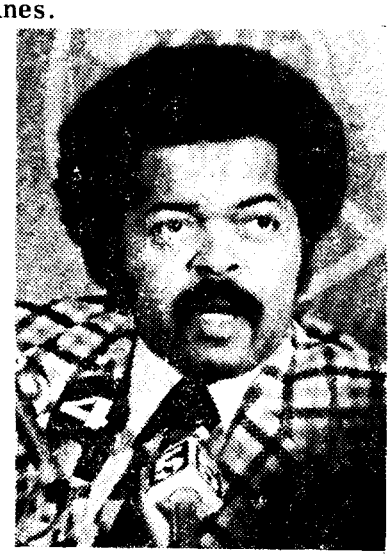
The SEIU leadership had approached the Labor Council shortly after the strike began and offered to join the strike if the Labor Council would support them in a demand to re-open negotiations on their contract. The Labor Council hacks closed their ears to this request.

The AFL-CIO led by the Transport Workers Union in joint council with AFSCME had been trying to raid the SEIU of its membership. Earlier L.B. Martin, representative of the Muni operators and President of TWU Local 250A, had warned the SEIU that his union would only support the other city workers after the strike had gone on for several days. Martin was willing to sacrifice the cause of the city workers to further the cause of his union's power grab.

James Ballard, President of the local AFT, told the SEIU Joint Council before the strike that his union would cross SEIU picket lines because his union was in a representational contest with another employees' organization, the California Teachers Association. On April 6 the teachers' union voted overwhelmingly to continue crossing picket lines.

The most class conscious and militant group of workers involved in the strike were the Muni operators in TWU Local 250A, over 70 percent of whom are black, Latin or Asian. In 1971 and again in 1974 they supported other city workers' strikes by refusing to cross picket lines in front of the bus barns.

Most or them did this grudgingly, willing to support fellow workers engaged in a fight with management, but deeply aware of the sell-out tactics, the racism, and corruption of the top labor leadership. On three separate occasions during the current strike they voted to reaffirm their commitment to support the strike and honor picket lines.



L. B. Martin

Why School Bus Drivers Honored Picket Line

This is a United Transportation Union Local 1741 schoolbus driver union leaflet passed out during the first week of the city strke.

80% of the members are honoring the picket lines, despite the personal hardship that it causes them. These drivers recognize that the issues of this strike go *beyond* workers trying to maintain benefits they have won over the years they have had a union.

The supervisors have REFUSED to bargain in good faith with the city workers. IN FACT, the issue in this strike is the right of ALL workers to collectively bargain.

The right of workers to organize into unions was established through long years of fighting —many, many workers have DIED in this fight.

WE, as workers and union members, CANNOT ALLOW the supervisors to succeed in their campaign to break the unions of San Francisco.

The city has made only ONE offer to the striking workers: WAGE CUT! The city also demanded that the workers agree not to strike *even if* negotiations broke down, AND agree to a clause which would have prohibited them from honoring the picket lines of other unions.

If the supervisors defeat the striking craft workers, they will then move to the Muni and other city workers unions. THEN, private companies (like Associated) will get the message: unions can no longer protect their members. The employers will then have the upper hand.

THIS IS WHY unions all over the city have joined together to WIN THIS STRIKE!!

THIS IS WHY it is important for YOU to HONOR the PICKET LINE!!

A union MEANS acting together to protect our rights and the rights of ALL workers.

Our union's position is that we support our brothers and sisters and that AS A UNION, we honor the picket line!!

Almost daily the newspapers carried stories which were designed to somehow entice the Muni drivers back to work. Anti-strike, conservative bus drivers were found and promoted as spokesmen for a "Muni back to work movement." A variety of stories kept appearing on the front pages of the papers or in TV news reports, all with the same theme: Muni drivers were taking tremendous financial losses in a strike which was not theirs; they were being victimized by the other unions.

At the first TWU strike vote meeting on March 28, President Martin had promised to join any city workers' strike with twenty one demands concerning on-the-job grievances. His "militancy" proved to be as hypocritical as the SEIU leadership's.

Throughout the strike Martin and the other union officers expressed doubts about Muni supporting the strike at all. Along with the right-wing international leadership they stubbornly refused to respond to requests from the rank-and-file for a strike fund, for a rank-and-file Strike Committee, and for the organization of a general strike.

Prior to and during the strike, PLP members in the TWU struggled against the reactionary union leadership, demanding that the union take an active, leading role in the strike; that we join the strike with our own demands and extend picketing to the few remaining mass transit facilities left—BART (subway), A.C. (East Bay Transit) and the Southern Pacific Railroad.

If the 1900 Muni operators had been actively involved, their militancy and ties with the working class communities of the city would have greatly strengthened the strike. Our immediate goal was to win over the more militant, class-conscious drivers to join the picketing instead of staying home and waiting passively for the strike to end as the bureaucrats hoped they would.

On April 12 the Muni Rank and File Caucus and other city workers picketed a Labor Council meeting demanding that picketing be intensified and the strike escalated. At this demonstration the revisionists active in the city workers' unions notably the SWP, CLP, and CP were advocating unity with the labor sellouts. They refused to join with PLP and others in exposing the bureaucrats' treachery and corruption. "We must fight one enemy at a time," said the CLP hacks. "We can criticize them later."

Rather than defeat the sellouts by waging a political struggle against them, the revisionists hoped to win the strike by being buddies with the labor sellouts. The so-called RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party, formerly RU) also followed this losing strategy which resembled the labor bureaucrats' strategy against the city politicians.

After the first week of the strike, the labor bureaucrats had steadily de-escalated the strike, lifting pickets from one institution after another. They were hoping to win the strike by warming the hearts of the politicians with kind gestures.

THE WORKERS AND THEIR ENEMIES CLASH AT CITY HALL

On April 13 the SEIU and the Labor Council

called for a labor rally at City Hall. The TWU was supposed to help organize the demonstration, but Martin and company refused to tell the union membership about it.

PLP Muni drivers organized a rank-and-file meeting to plan to turn what was sure to be a passive labor gathering at City Hall into a militant mass picket line to shut City Hall down for the day. We told the workers at the planning meeting to be prepared to move against the labor leadership who would be sure to oppose any militant action by striking workers. The workers present agreed entirely with this except for a couple of CLP revisionists who protested strongly and walked out of the meeting. The CLPers said they did not want to "destroy unity" with the labor bureaucrats.

By 6:30 AM on April 14 over 300 workers had gathered in front of City Hall. Without any leadership or organization, the workers milled around talking quietly. Most of the union hacks never even showed up.

Progressive Labor Party members and friends, with the Muni operator rank-and-file committee in the lead, came prepared to fill the leadership vacuum.

We passed out a flier urging the workers to form a tight picket line in front of all City Hall entrances—to prevent anyone from going to work.

We brought bullhorns and made speeches from the City Hall steps urging the workers to ignore the sell-out leadership, to form a militant picket line. "We didn't come here for a labor picnic," speakers shouted. "We didn't come here for a parade. We came to shut down City Hall. Nothing going on today at City Hall is more important than us winning this strike. Don't let anyone cross our picket line!" So the speeches went.

A contingent of PLP members from other unions, led by minority women, arrived to strengthen the picket line. The city workers were inspired by the militancy displayed by these women from PLP.

After two weeks of standing around without leadership and organization, watching scabs cross their picket lines, the workers were ready for this type of action.

When most of the officials and scabs started to come to work at City Hall and were physically barred from the doorways, one of the only labor bureaucrats on the scene, Stan Smith, Executive Secretary of the S.F. Building Trades Council, intervened and told the pickets to let people cross the line and go to work.

He began ordering the pickets to break ranks and parade completely around the huge building in single file.

The committee of Muni drivers immediately countered this by going to all the doorways, telling the workers to ignore Stan Smith. Most of the workers were already ignoring him.

Smith then tried to take a bullhorn from one of the militants making speeches on the steps. Smith was chased down the stairs and roughed up by a group of picketers in the area who thought he was a scab since he was dressed like a boss and was arguing with a picket leader.

In the hours which followed there were many scuffles between picketers on one hand and scabs, cops, city officials, and revisionists on the other. (A couple of CP members threatened to beat up a Muni driver because he was criticizing union officials over the bullhorn.)

The functioning of City Hall was brought to a halt. A couple of Superior Court Judges were knocked down trying to cross picket lines. Later one of them, Superior Court Judge Clayton Horn, had his Contempt of Court ruling against striking unions overturned in higher court because the union attorneys were able to successfully argue that S.F. judges were biased because some of them had been roughed up by strikers at City Hall.

Eventually enough cops arrived at City Hall to push the pickets away from the building entrances. (So much for the argument that striking cops are members of the working class.) In the process one of the rank-and-file Muni leaders and one of the rank-and-file SEIU leaders were arrested for assault and for inciting a riot.

The following day the cops were well prepared and arrived in force to prevent the pickets from blockading City Hall again.

This action at City Hall gave the rank-and-file confidence it could win; it stirred many workers out of a defeatist lethargy. The night of the City Hall action about fifty workers went to the central subway transit yard in Concord sixty miles away and tried to close down BART.

The Muni operators, many of whom were discouraged and ready to go back to work, now were inspired to continue supporting the strike.

Pickets outside Mission Emergency Hospital

A TURNING POINT

There were three basic levels of tactical leadership and activity during the strike. At one level ensconced with the City politicians at the Jack Tar Hotel were the top labor negotiators issuing "no comment" statements to the press and granting concession after concession to the other side for nothing in return—killing them with kindness.

At another level coordinating daily picket assignments at strike headquarters were the shop stewards and business agents of the striking unions. Some of these men were honestly doing their best to win the strike and simply did not know how to organize anything. But the headquarters was basically controlled by racist hacks, errand boys for the big Labor bureaucrats.

At the third level the most advanced workers were struggling to escalate the strike and to achieve rank-and-file control of their unions. We in PLP were handicapped in this work because we had no members in the unions actually on strike.

We did make ties with the rank-and-file activists in the craft unions and we were able to form a Communist Fraction in the Transport Workers Union involving militant bus drivers we did not know before the strike.

On the morning of April 20, 300 mostly craft workers reported to strike headquarters at the Plumbers Union Hall. They were ready to take militant action; this was the first day after the City Hall demonstrations in which it was possible to get this many workers together again. An all-out mobilization of gardeners and other craft workers had been made.

This was a turning point in the strike. Another serious show of force by the workers could have led to a general escalation of the strike and to victory. The action at City Hall had pressured the Board of Supervisors into finally entering the negotiations themselves. Public opinion was beginning to form against the politicians as the strike dragged on. The people of the city would understand something important was at stake for workers if the city workers put up a bold, determined fight and took some risks.

A decision was made by the Craft Union Strike Committee to set up a picket line to block all buses from A.C. Transit. A.C. Transit is basically an East Bay, Oakland-based transit service which brings passengers from the East Bay to S.F. across the Bay Bridge. It is entirely independent of Muni and its drivers belong to a different union.

About 250 strikers piled into their cars and drove to the Trans-Bay Terminal near the Bay Bridge. They arrived well before the thousands of commuters would arrive from the East Bay.

This action would be especially important for the rank-and-file because over the weekend the bureaucrats at the Jack Tar Hotel had struck hard again with another "good faith" gesture. Pickets were lifted from the Opera House. (The opera must go on!) The bureaucrats were ready to cave in at any time.

Initially one lone state policeman tried to stop the pickets by spraying mace at a few picketers. Several pickets led by PLP members went past this punk and tried to break bus mirrors to give the A.C. drivers an excuse to stop working and jam up the off-ramp which connected the Bay Bridge to the transit terminal. Several buses were turned back just after they exited down the off-ramp from the bridge.

At about 7:20 A.M. dozens of buses were jammed up, unable to pick up S.F. passengers bound for the East Bay. A few A.C. bus drivers showed signs of supporting the strike. One stood, smiling beside his bus in the middle of the off-ramp. At this point two bus drivers walking away from their buses could have jammed up the Bay Bridge and all transportation from the East Bay.

However, with the arrival of about eight more cops, the labor bureaucrats' flunkies from strike

headquarters, with a couple of RCP members at their side, called for a mass retreat.

About half the workers wanted to stay and loudly protested. About half left the off-ramp in haste; then more followed. Five minutes later the rest gave up in disgust.

A mass rank-and-file meeting ensued at strike headquarters. Along with the PLP members, many of the rank-and-file laborers, plumbers and gardeners voiced opposition to the leadership's handling of the strike and retreat from the Transit Terminal.

Several Muni drivers and other militants demanded that a rank-and-file steering committee be elected to run strike activities. The craft union business agents refused and were supported by all the revisionists present, especially the SWP and RCP members. The CLP argued for a rank-and-file Strike Committee but, when the business agents disagreed, they quickly gave in and supported them.

PLP members felt the key to escalating the strike was to involve the Muni drivers in mass action. In April drivers had voted 700 to 50 to reaffirm their strike support.

But while the fiasco at the Trans-Bay Terminal was going on, the top labor leaders had begun another series of "good faith gestures" designed to convince the politicians to be friends again. Pickets were removed from one city hospital and the school bus yards.

This type of leadership demoralized the Muni operators who lost over $1,000 supporting the strike. Many of them, aware of the Plumbers and Carpenters and other craft unions' history of excluding blacks from their unions, were never too eager to support them in the first place.

LABOR LEADERS CAVE IN

A group of militant craft workers realizing the leadership was preparing to sell out, stepped up acts of sabotage. By April 27 several 30-inch water mains were broken and sections of the city were left with virtually no water. Scabs and city officials trying to stop the plumbers and gardeners from taking more of this type of action were beaten up.

The cumulative effect of all the strike action put the city in a very critical situation. The school year was about to be completely wasted for thousands of students. There was a sanitation crisis at the airport, at City Hospital and the sewage treatment plant—not to mention the streets clogged with filth. Retail sales and tourism were severely hit, losing approximately $20 million.

Sections of the city were threatened with little or no water and electric power. 10,000 young trees were dying all over the city for lack of water.

And public opinion was beginning to turn against the Board of Supervisors as their arrogance and dishonesty became more apparent.

But on May 3 the Laborers Union leadership declared a moratorium on picketing as yet another "good faith gesture to get the Board to sit down and talk with us." Actually the Laborers Union with 1200 city workers had been trying to work out a separate deal for themselves all along. They had already agreed to accept pay cuts for their mostly black street sweeper members.

The next day the TWU (Muni drivers) leaders said they too advocated returning to work if the supervisors would take Proposition "E," the no-strike law, off the ballot.

On May 5, fed-up Muni drivers voted 2-1 to accept this recommendation. Before this final vote, President Martin told the drivers that the State AFL-CIO had collected only $25,000 ($12 per person) in strike fund donations.

On April 30 national AFL-CIO representatives held a secret meeting with Mayor Moscone. They proposed to return to work while a fact-finding committee would come up with a solution. There would be amnesty for all strikers **except those who allegedly committed violent acts.** (The bureaucrats don't like labor militancy either.)

The rest of the unions caved in and on May 8 an agreement to return to work was reached on condition that the anti-labor measures be removed from the ballot.

The basis for the settlement was the formation of an eleven member Joint Study Committee with six members representing labor, six members representing management and one "impartial" member, Mayor Moscone, the man who signed the pay-cut bill in the first place.

At this writing the Joint Study Committee must come up with a formal recommendation on wages and benefits by June 10. The Supervisors will have until June 21 to reach a final decision on the non-binding recommendations.

A COSTLY VICTORY FOR THE RULING CLASS

The strike settlement clearly represents a defeat for the city crafts workers. But it was a costly victory for the ruling class. The workers had stood up and fought back and had learned a lot about how to fight better next time.

As Lenin once said, the working class will continue to suffer defeats as long as the bourgeoisie holds power, but with every struggle and every defeat the working class learns more and grows stronger.

Digging out after the strike

Most of the workers learned, if not for the first time, that there is a class struggle, that the other side is relentlessly on the attack and that we must have a fighting organization.

The workers learned a great deal about how the other side fights—with what weapons. We saw how the capitalist institutions were used against us: the police, the courts, the legislative bodies, and the press.

At the beginning of the strike most of the craft workers were not ready to confront scabs and were confused about the role of the police. They figured the city would give in quickly—a deal would be made with the politicians.

The police were seen almost as fellow workers. (Hadn't they just been on strike themselves?)

If a deal could not be made the media might back the workers, the courts might intervene in favor of the workers. After all, the massive pay cuts were a clear injustice.

However, the courts only intervened on the side of management. The media acted as nothing but a propaganda organ for the other side. And submission to mediation or arbitration proved to be a submission to defeat.

By the end of the strike scabs were being attacked. Hundreds of workers after being shoved around by cops for a month learned that the true function of the police is to help the bosses oppress workers. The workers learned you don't win anything being nice to the enemy—good faith gestures are (correctly) seen as a sign of weakness. The only weapons that will win are organization, unity and violence.

More than ever the need for workers' solidarity was clearly understood. Because of this every city labor dispute will potentially lead to a shut down of all city services.

However, every day of the strike the devastating effects of racism, the bosses' greatest single weapon, were manifested. The racist craft union leaders have excluded or discriminated against minority workers for generations. They have also failed to organize the masses of unorganized—mostly black, Latin and Asian—workers in the city.

This had all but completely destroyed public support from the mostly minority working people of S.F. who did not particularly see the craft unions as their friend. The leaders' sell-out history and racism helps explain the lack of trade union consciousness among large numbers of SEIU-led clerical workers; the craft workers' unions are seen as racist and male chauvinist.

This history of racism had created the general racial character to city job categories: bus drivers, street sweepers and janitors predominantly black; except for very low-paying clerical and hospital jobs, Asian and Latin people were generally excluded from city jobs. Women generally have been hired last and given the lowest paying jobs.

NEW LEADERSHIP HAS TO TAKE OVER

This strike has helped teach the workers of San Francisco that their labor movement is tightly controlled by a stupid and corrupt bureaucracy which is incapable of progress and incapable of winning anything under present political and economic conditions. **The old labor leadership which screwed the workers, helped the bosses ruin the natural environment, supported imperialist wars, endorsed Nixon, and opposed racial integration has to go.**

The workers know that new labor leadership with new political ideas has to take over.

Progressive Labor Party must work hard to win the workers to communist ideas—to the idea that the only meaningful political struggle is for workers' power, for socialism under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The rank-and-file city workers in PLP made progress during the strike fighting racism, revisionism, exposing the labor sell-outs and winning new workers to work with the party.

We must redouble our efforts, organize communist fractions in the unions, and publish shop papers exposing the truth about class struggle.

The city workers must prepare for the battles to come. The politicians are planning large scale lay-offs and service cut-backs. June 21 is the deadline for the craft workers' pay bill.

The Muni Railway operators' pay bill is due the last week of August; the politicians want to continue their program of pay cuts.

These trade union struggles must be expanded into political struggles. The revolutionary PLP must grow in influence and strength as a result of these battles. This is where real hope for victory lies.

S F. Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, May 9 1976

The strike's impact:

Tourism and downtown businesses felt the pinch, while City Hall loosened its belt

CLASS STRUGGLE - USSR

We reprint below a letter sent from construction workers in a city near Kiev (in the Ukraine) to the Central Committee of the "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow.

As in any capitalist country, the bosses in the USSR suck all the surplus value they can out of the working class. The Soviet revisionists manage to suppress most news of workers' fight-backs, strikes, and protests against this exploitation.

For several years before and after the events described in the letter reprinted here, the workers at "Kremenchukgesstroy" (the Kremenchuk Hydroelectric Station Construction Project) were involved in well-publicized struggles against their rotten treatment. Because these are workers in the Ukraine (a large part of Western USSR where native residents speak a language akin to, but different from, Russian), part of the bad treatment given them consists in neglect of the Ukrainian language (about 70 percent of workers at this site are native Ukrainians) and the predominance of Russian-speaking managers, engineers, and foremen.

It is because of this secondary aspect of their exploitation that this letter was reprinted by reactionary Ukrainian nationalist intellectuals within the USSR, and then smuggled out and reprinted in a CIA-funded "Free Ukrainian" publication in Western Europe, from which this version was translated (by an anti-communist Social-Democratic journal in Scotland, **Critique**).

Reactionary Ukrainian nationalists, mainly now (as always in the Ukraine) intellectuals, have been trying to make some inroads among workers at this large construction site. These nationalists include such dissidents as Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil, lionized by the bourgeoisie in the West who meanwhile ignore class-conscious struggles of Soviet workers. Chronovil, who worked on the Kremenchukgesstroy newspaper and was secretary of the Komsomol (Communist youth) organization there, tried to get the Ukrainian workers to agitate mainly around "Russification of the Ukraine," to leaflet Kiev University, to gain the promotion of more Ukrainian managers and technical experts at the site. In short, the nationalists tried to drive a wedge between the Russian-speaking and Ukrainian-speaking workers by stressing "Ukrainianism first," aping the "C"P bosses, who stress "Russianism" first. The situation is similar to that in Canada, where the bosses (who oppress all workers) try to divide the working class by pitting French against English, and are helped in doing so by the so-called "socialists" who push French predominance, "Free Quebec," etc.

The Kremenchukgesstroy workers resist this nationalist, divisive line! The following letter, though written in Ukrainian (first language of most of the site workers) stresses unity among the workers around demands for better housing and rejection of their local bosses. They address the Central Committee not as Ukrainians but as Soviet workers, and Communists; they call them "the leaders of our country and our party." Far from being anti-communist or nationalist (as the "dissidents" want them to be), the workers reaffirmed their Communist heritage:

> In mid-May 1969, workers at the Kiev Hydro-electric station in the village of Beryozka met to discuss the housing problem: many of them are still living in prefabricated huts and railway coaches despite the authorities' promises to provide housing. The workers declared that they no longer believed the local authorities, and decided to write to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. **After their meeting, the workers marched off with banners carrying such slogas as ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS!** K.G.B. men drove up in veterinary vans and were greeted with shouts of 'What d'you think we are? Dogs?!' Remonstrating with the crowd, the K.G.B. men tried to whip up retired Major Ivan Oleksandrovych Hryshchuk, by pointing out that he was on a good pension, so what had he got to kick up a fuss about? Hryshchuk agreed that his pension really was undeservedly large—indeed he had already been donating it to a children's home for two years. Moreover, he earned his living by honest labor, unlike the K.G.B. men.

The next day there was an official meeting at which some of the speakers smear Hryshchuk, but by the time they left the platform they had been literally spat upon by the workers. The workers sent a delegation to Moscow with a letter signed by about six hundred people on their housing problem. At the end of June Ivan Hryshchuk was arrested in Moscow. The workers wrote a new letter, this time demanding his release as well.

Just before his arrest there appeared on June 24th in the paper **Vechirny Kiev** (Evening Kiev) a feuilleton entitled Khlestakov's Double,' by I. Pereyaslavsky. The usual type of libellous accusations are levelled at Hryshchuk—of course he's a drunkard, and he persistently refuses to pay alimony; then doubts are cast in a hinting way on his part in the Great Patriotic War and his behavior in a fascist concentration camp. The feuilletonist writes that the delegation—which consists of some 'neighbors' (not a word about the hydro-electric workers)—is drinking in Moscow restaurants on the 900 roubles it has collected from certain gullible people.*

These workers still have not realized that the "C"PSU is hopelessly capitalist, and so still petition the Central Committee, which, they believe, "doesn't know what's happening."

There are several important lessons from this:

1. Class struggle can no more be ended or suppressed by revisionist-style fascism than by ordinary fascism. Wherever there is exploitation, there is working-class struggle.

2. Workers' struggles teach them that real communism is what's needed. As a result, they are to the left of the revisionist "C"PSU. No progressive change can come from intellectual-based "dissidents," who use divisive nationalism just like the Soviet leaders, and who maintain close relations with CIA-groups abroad. As is clear from their publications (which hardly ever even mention workers' struggles), their "humanism" is bullshit, aimed only at creating a little country for themselves where they can be the "elite." Workers reject these petty Solzhenitsyns.

4. Conditions exist, and are favorable for, the growth of a real Communist opposition to the Moscow bosses. Brezhnev, Kosygin & Co. are firmly united with the "dissidents" like Medvedev, Sakharov, and Solzhenitsyn in trying to stop or to sidetrack this. But they will fail.

* (Taken from the right-wing **Samizdat Chronicle of Contemporary Events.**)

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

We, the residents of the city of Vyzhhorod in Kyevo-Svyatoshynskyy rayon, appeal to you for the third time to send to Vyzhhorod a commission which would be able to examine all the violations of Soviet legality committed by the management of "Kremenchukgesstroy" (Kremenchuk Hydroelectric Construction Project) and which would take the appropriate steps.

At a meeting held on June 10, 1969, the director of "Kremgesstroy," cde. Strokov, declared that construction of temporary settlements involves constant losses, and that the repairs of these settlements cost much more money than we, the residents, pay for these quarters. In fact, not one nail has been driven into any of these dwellings by anyone since they were put up.

Where are all those thousands which cde. Strokov quoted? The roofs in almost all of the temporary dwellings have been leaking for a long time, the walls in the barracs crack and fall apart, some of the dwellings have become uninhabitable, that is, in a state of total disrepair.

Many of us have more than once appealed for repairs to the deputy director of the construction project, cde. Abramov, but he did only one thing: he threw people out of his office. Neither the management of the construction project nor the civic organizations, held any meetings at which we would have been able to express our complaints and ask for improvements in our dwelling conditions. For this reason, the house committee of the Berezky settlement decided to call a residents' meeting to which they invited the construction project directors and which was attended by residents of all the temporary settlements.

At this meeting we elected a delegation and sent them to you. Now the construction management claims that our residents' meeting was an illegal assemblage. We sent our delegation directly to Moscow because only the Council of Ministers can decide on the allotment of additional funds for repairs and construction dwellings. After our representatives left on their way to you, unbelievably shocking things began occurring at the construction project. First we will mention the good

things.

Repairs to our dwellings were begun; the streets where our children play were closed to cars and all motorized vehicles; they began repairing the roads. For all of this we could have been thankful to our management. But they cannot sleep when they feel that people do not pat them on the head for their work. They began to save the honor of their uniform and made such a mess that repercussions were heard even beyond Kiev. To the Berezky settlement, where the above-mentioned meetings had taken place, and to other workers' settlements with temporary dwellings, for the first time since these have been put up, came the directors of all departments, chief engineers, and other leading workers, and began persuading the new house committee—formed earlier, not approved by the construction committee, and therefore, illegal. We recommended that they approve the house committee, but we categorically refused to form a new one. We understand perfectly why they require this new house committee in such haste; they want to convince you that those comrades who went to Moscow are self-appointed, that no one elected them or authorized them to ask your help on behalf of the builders of the Kiev HES Hydroelectric Station.

But that ploy did not work. Wise people would stop at this and would not continue stirring up more trouble. But our local management is not like that. In spite of having been refused by all the residents, they, nevertheless, collected about thirty unauthorized persons in the civic center and "elected" a new house committee in the presence of Lavrenchuk and his "druzhynnyky" ('voluntary' militia). They then began a constant terrorization of everyone who had actively participated in the above-mentioned meeting, or actively taken part in the work of the old house committee.

People were summoned by the militia and intimidated. As a direct result of this, a meeting of all the residents of the settlement was called on June 10th. This was the first meeting of this kind in the history of the Kiev HES. To this meeting came leading workers from Kiev, and there we first saw the representative from the Kiev-Svyatoshynskyy city executive committee, who had not found time to visit and congratulate us at the time when the new city of Vyzhhorod was being born, built with our hands.

The meeting was stormy. We voiced our most urgent problems with regard to our dwellings. We related how and for what people were dismissed; how, in violation of our elementary rights, we were not given registration slips and were evicted from our quarters even when in possession of permanent registrations; how when we travelled to the construction site of the Trypillya HES, for a long time our travel expenses were not paid, as a result of which many of us were forced to leave the job; how the local administration indulged in all kinds of machinations when distributing quarters, taking advantage of the lack of supervision from higher placed organizations; how we had to travel many a dozen kilometers in order to reach the military registration and enlistment office located in Svyatoshyno; how party and sports organizations are located in the Podol rayon; how, for some reason, consumer sevices are located in Dymer; and so on. We spoke of the bus which came to Berezky for several days and then was never seen again. Everything cannot be mentioned in this short letter. We were satisfied by the meeting. Concluding, Col Lavrenchuk, who had introduced himself to us as the deputy chief of the oblast MVD and the representative of the party oblast committee, assured us that all shortcomings would be corrected, that by 1972 we would all receive permanent residences, that no one would arrest anyone, that the delegates we had sent to you would be allowed to appear in the civic center at a similar meeting on condition that they inform the local administration of this and would not hold "illegal assemblages."

We believed Col Lavrenchuk, believed him as a man, but we were bitterly disappointed. On June 13th, the administration of the construction project called a meeting on the rest of the temporary settlements' residents. In the meantime the delegates we had sent to you had returned from Moscow, and the chairman of the house committee, cde. I. A. Hryxhchuk, referring to the pledges made by Col. Lavrenchuk, asked that the report of the delegation which had been to Moscow also be placed on the agenda.

It would seem simple, they promised—give him the right to speak and everything would have been all right. But not here; at this meeting the leaders outdid even themselves. It began with them giving a short ring and those who managed to jump into the hall got into the meeting; the rest were locked out. They did not elect a presidium; appointing himself to conduct the meeting, the construction project party organizer, Velychko, stated that no one had sent any delegation to Moscow and no one was going to get a hearing that day, that the report would be given to cde. Strokov, and following that, "pertinent" questions would be answered, and on that the meeting would adjourn.

Where, when, and according to what rules have meetings been conducted in this manner? When cde. Strokov began speaking, those who had been locked out in the street, began pounding on the door, while the audience began demanding that these people be admitted. With some trouble, people managed to enter the meeting hall and it was filled to the rafters. People asked to be allowed to speak, but Velychko did

not recognize anyone's right to do so; to the questions directed from all sides, he replied that they were not "pertinent." Later, when in his opinion, all the "pertinent" questions had been exhausted, he adjourned the meeting. But the people did not leave the meeting hall; they demanded that Hryschuk and the rest of the delegates speak. But when the delegates, who had been encouraged and supported by the entire audience, began to ascend the stage to the podium, the party organizer of the construction project, Veluchko, behaved like a vile hooligan. He shoved a woman holding a child, grabbed the microphone from Hryshchuk and ripped it out of its socket. Col. Lavrenchuk, the same "good colonel" who had promised to allow the delegation to speak, ordered a detachment of militia officers into the meeting hall to arrest our delegates.

Comrades! What is this??? Who ever saw the like? One gets the impression that these puffed-up and presumptuous so-called leaders were provoking a riot.

Is it possible that they do not understand the basic truth that our enemies are waiting just for this, for something to happen in our country? Why then do we simple workers understand this? We did not fall for this provocation. We defended our delegates from arrest, calmed down, and began to listen to Hryshchuk. Hryshchuk reached for the Constitution and said: "Comrades, the Constitution states. . .", and at that moment the hall was filled with music and sirens, as if to say: "go outside into the street, hold your meeting, and that will be that illegal assemblage for which we have the right to arrest instigators." Indeed, it would seem so.

But we did not fall for this. When people surrounded Hryshchuk on the street, he said only one thing: "Go to your homes peacefully. We will not hold a meeting. They are not aware in the Central Committee that the administration of this construction project has presumed to this degree! We will go back there and tell them everything."

After Hryshchuk's departure a feuilleton appeared in **Vechirny Kiev** which one could call nothing other than market place gossip. A day later, we heard that Hryshchuk had been arrested.

Comrades! We do not believe that this arrest was made with the knowledge of those above, and we earnestly ask that you take under you protection the delegation which has come to you with this letter. As to our demands, we will express them when your representatives come to us. Do not believe those who call us rebels, do not believe when they tell you that we are demanding that dwellings be given to us today on a silver platter. We want to wait our turn honestly and know that that turn is real, that each of us, regardless of whether this be in a year, or two, or five, will receive quarters, and that no one will make any rearrangements in the order. We are not afraid of work, if necessary we will roll up our sleeves and we will build dwellings after working hours, as we built our Berezky. Understand us correctly.

The "kremenchukges" base is still necessary and will be necessary for a long time. This means that we, the workers on that base, will also be necessary. We ask you one more thing: let those who arrested Hryshchuk release him; he is like the rest of us.

Comrades, we believe you, the leaders of our country and our party, and ask you to believe us and send your representatives to Vyzhhorod. As far as the administration of the "Kremenchukges" is concerned, they have lied so much that we no longer believe anything they say, and we will never again work with them on any construction project.

In conclusion we want to say that there will be no incidents in our settlements. We will await your reply peacefully. And in the event that our letter does not reach you, we will send people to you with this same letter again and again, until you receive this letter.

the last word

december 19, 1942—

> . . . on several occasions i have argued with john steinbeck. i claim that when a writer becomes too successful, generally without giving it to much thought, he assumes another style of living. with the introduction of luxury into his life he withdraws from his old friends, haunts and contacts that enabled him to find material that made him successful in the first place. john says it isn't true but i don't think you can come out of the stork club with your belly full and caviar rolling down your vest and rush home and write a "grapes of wrath." john says you can, so i must be wrong . . . .

—from **Fred Allen's Letters,** Doubleday, 1965.—

MEMORIES OF BUILDING THE UAW

By J. S. Napier

Order from the Canadian Party of Labour, Box 1151, Adelaide St. P. O. Toronto, Ontario, Canada. $1.

CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY July 8, 1976—Volume 13, Number 6 10¢

Bicentennial Hoopla: Cover for Sinking Capitalist System

(see page 2)

Poland: Rebellion against Revisionism

A Week of Struggle

1199 HOSPITAL STRIKE

NEW YORK CITY—Local 1199, representing 40,000 workers of voluntary hospitals, might go out on strike on July 7 as the hospital bosses not only refuse to give any wage increases, but are demanding widespread reductions in benefits. The union leadership is not preparing an effective strike against this racist attack by the bosses. They are accepting federal arbitration as a goal of the strike. The hospital bosses refuse to accept the binding arbitration and the negotiation of a cost-of-living increase recommended by a Federal fact-finding panel. This panel aso recommended a joint union-management productivity committee to seek cost savings (which means speed-up for the workers).

Local 1199 workers must organize a strike to win, refusing to accept arbitration—which means in the final analysis accepting the arbitrary will of the bosses. To win such a strike, the workers must not depend on the union leadership, but organize their own strike committee with the leadership of the Communist ideas of PLP, which refuse to accept the bosses' arbitration and any of their rules and fight for the workers—to win a decent contract for all.

FASCIST WINS ELECTION IN PORTUGAL

LISBON, Portugal, June 28—General Ramalho Eanes won the Presidential election with the support of all the rightwing parties (including the Maoiste MRPP and PCP, m-l). Immediately he said that he intends to crack down on strikes and illegal political activities to create a climate for recovery for the bosses' economy. Eanes will name "Socialist" Party leader Mario Soares his Premier to carry out these anti-working class plans. Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho came in second in the elections defeating the candidate of the revisionist pro-Moscow "Communist" Party's candidate Octavio Pato, who came in last. Carvalho was backed by a coalition of revolutionary groups to the left of the "C"P and ran with a campaign platform of building a mass movement of workers and its allies. His votes broke up the hold that the sellout "C"P had on the working class.